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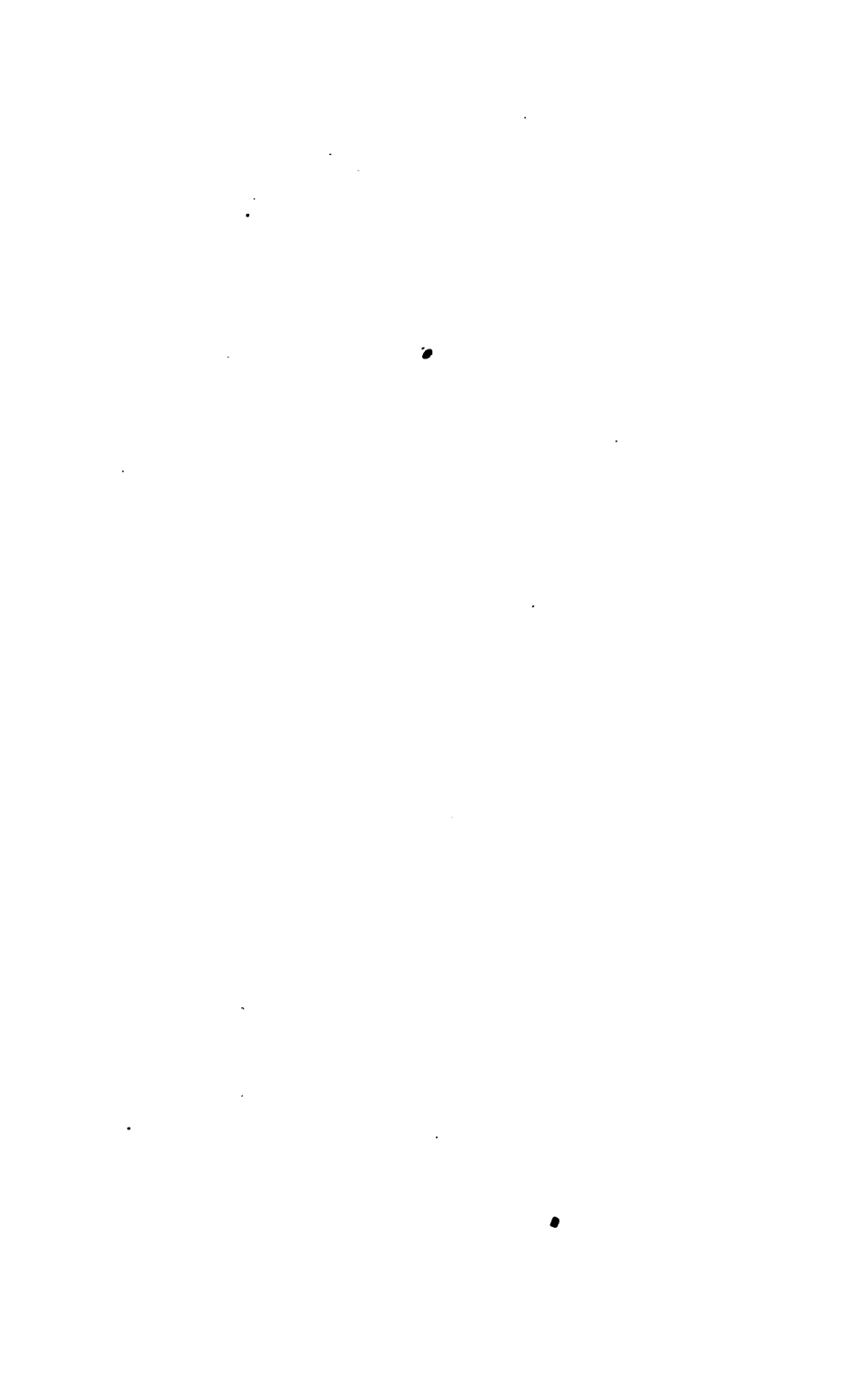




ENGLISH MARTYRS.

BY

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.



RIDLEY, LATIMER, CRANMER,

AND

OTHER ENGLISH MARTYRS.

BY

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH

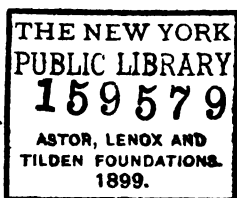
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P R E F A C E .

THERE are two classes of persons among the professedly religious, who show, at the present moment, their disapprobation of such productions as the present,—or, indeed, of the republication, in any way, of the records of those days when the church of Rome possessed the ascendancy, and was able to manifest, fully, “ what manner of spirit she was of.” These two classes may be thus described :—

The first consists of certain men of learning, and their numerous followers, who have pursued the study of the early Fathers with such zeal, and have become so attached to their writings and authority, as to be carried away by the love of antiquity, and of an orderly succession of ministers, and hence made unwilling to admit that the successors of the Fathers in the church of Rome were guilty of more than the bringing in of some errors and unwarranted practices. They disavow the term “ Protestant ;” in their view no *Protest* was needed against the church of Rome ; and they prefer designating the church of England a *reformed* church ; plainly avowing that if the Romanists would themselves effect a reformation of their own church, in a few points, they themselves would willingly and gladly rejoin her communion. To all such, these records of the doings of the church of Rome

in the days of her supremacy, are most unwelcome; for they plainly exhibit her not as they would desire to do,—as “an erring sister,”—but as she actually was, and still is the cruel and relentless foe of all real scriptural truth and godliness.

But there is a second class, which is free from all suspicion of desiring a reunion with Rome, or of undervaluing the extent of her delinquencies. This class consists of various amiable and pious individuals, whose kindly feelings and tenderness of spirit lead them, without denying the necessity of divine influence, not only to desire, but even to hope for and expect the gradual and entire uprooting of all errors, even the greatest, by increased intelligence, improved systems of education, and a circulation of the written word. The importance of all these is fully admitted, and the good that may be done by them is incalculable. But it is wrong to ascribe to them an efficiency which they can never possess, or to allow a constitutional amiability of mind to seduce us into unfounded expectations. The persons, however, of whom we are now speaking, seem to carry their natural repugnance to consider any *individuals* as implacable and irreclaimable foes to God so far, as to reach even to the *system* itself, the apostate church, to which those individuals belong. For popery even, therefore, they entertain some hope. The present is indeed a day of grace for all, Papists or Protestants, but for popery itself no favor is shown by the Lord, or must be shown by us.

To each of these classes there is but one answer:—“To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, because there is no light in them.” Do not both these parties forget or overlook the plain instructions of God’s word, and prefer to listen to the inventions of their own minds, or the unfounded hopes of their own imaginations?

What says the Scripture of Popery,—of its real character; of its obdurate and unchangeable bent and determination; and of its

certain and irrevocable doom? Are there not many plain declarations in God's word, which are altogether irreconcilable, either with the idea of the Romish church's being considered as "an erring sister," or with the hope of her ultimately being peaceably subdued, by the conversion of all her individual members, and their amalgamation into the various Protestant churches? There will surely be few among Protestants to dispute the fact, that Popery is predicted as antichristian and destructive of souls, or that it is that which is described by St. Paul, as "*that wicked, whom the Lord shall consume.*" It is not as an "erring sister,"—as a church which has been deformed by a few corruptions,—that the apostle goes on to portray her,—but in these awful words,—"*Whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish,—because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.*"

Nor does the fact rest upon the testimony of a single apostle, nor is the identity of Rome with this fore-doomed abomination allowed to remain in any doubt. St. John enforces and enlarges the warnings and predictions of St. Paul, in language as strong and as pointed as any in the whole compass of holy writ. "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication; and upon her forehead was a name written, *'Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.*' And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration." (Rev. xvii. 3—6.) And lest the least room for hesitation should remain, as to the power denoted by this dreadful description, the interpreting angel adds, "The woman which thou

sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth." And so far from a hope being left, of her gradual improvement or return to the faith, the declaration of the next chapter is, "Therefore shall her plagues come in ONE DAY, death and mourning and famine ; and she shall be **UTTERLY BURNED WITH FIRE**, for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her."

But if these things be so, then is our path only obscured by the intervention of human hopes or desires, indulged in through neglect or forgetfulness both of the clear manifestation of God's will, in his written word ; and in equal neglect of all the lessons of past experience. And I am more and more satisfied and convinced of the great duty and absolute necessity of bringing back again to the recollection of the present day, the bitter trials and sufferings through which our Reformers passed, by the re-publication of such works as Fox's Martyrology. Popery is unalterably bad : it has fettered itself for ever in the evil principles of its infallibility and unchangeableness, and thus is fast bound in its errors. It will not be amended : it is reserved for destruction, not for amelioration. Popery, and all adhering to it, will be visibly and suddenly overthrown by Almighty power. We have greatly lost our hold of that sure light, the word of prophecy : nothing can be more express than its testimony : "The Lord shall consume that wicked, with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming." 1 Thess. ii. 3. "A mighty angel took a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus **WITH VIOLENCE** shall that great city, Babylon, be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." Rev. xviii. 21. On the work of God then I stand, and with all ardor of love, and with all the tenderness of Christian compassion, I feel it my duty to warn Protestants of their danger, and to call to those who are under the delusion of Babylon, "Come out of her ! my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues !"

It is a most grievous mistake to think that Popery will die a natural death, and that kind treatment and increasing intelligence will gradually put an end to it. Kind treatment is indeed most justly due to every human being, and especially to those most diseased with error. But that is a *mistaken kindness*, which leaves the patient to perish under a disease, rather than undertake the self-denying and distressing duty of applying a painful remedy. God's kindness to those he loves is of a different character; it is a *kind severity*, even in his severest reproofs and punishments, producing thereby enduring good; and this is the kindness which we should copy.

Increasing intelligence, unsanctified and unaccompanied by the light of God's truth, and the believing reception of his holy love, may only be increasing the means of wickedness. The father of lies is full of subtilty and intelligence.

It is painful, indeed, to see that beloved Christian brethren can be so far misled by the amiableness of their natural disposition, and the kindness of their affection, as to rejoice in the outward splendor and increase of Roman Catholic places of worship; and to think that as this prosperity indicates wealth, and wealth brings education, education must destroy priestcraft. Surely a simple faith in the word of prophecy would preserve us from this snare! Read the 18th chapter of Revelation: mark the description of her merchandize (v. 12, 13), what extraordinary wealth precedes her destruction! what priestcraft! when *souls of men* are numbered among her merchandize!

Let us be faithful to our God and Saviour, and faithful to the souls of men, though we have to go through obloquy and reproach, and are charged with a bitter and an hostile spirit, even when our hearts are fullest of love. God's servants will soon learn to distinguish between true, faithful, and zealous love, and a mere party spirit, either of this world's politics or of zealotry and proselytism. And should all men condemn, the period is at hand which will *make our just dealing* as clear as the noonday.

EDWARD BICKERSTETH.

MEMOIRS.

CHAPTER I.

MAN is a polluted being : his best righteousnesses are as filthy rags ; and whatever degree of relative and comparative holiness he may exhibit among his fellow men, not one of our race ever did or ever can take his stand before the throne of God, until washed in the blood of the Lamb from innumerable sins and defilements. It is especially needful to bear this truth in mind, when dwelling on the Acts and Monuments of our blessed martyrs. God, for his own glory and praise, endued many of them with such singular gifts and grace, that we are in danger of overlooking what they never forgot ; and while they, in the act of giving their tortured bodies to the burning flames for their Lord's sake, uttered their last breath in supplications for mercy, abhorring the very idea of merit, and knowing that the reward was reckoned unto them not of debt but of grace, we, looking only on that which God effectually wrought in them, are in peril of forgetting that all the praise must be to the glory of his grace.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

We now, thus guarded, enter upon the story of one of these vessels of mercy, in whose life and death the Lord was pleased alike to magnify himself. Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY was a native of Northumberland, born of an ancient and honorable family, and distinguished from childhood by great aptness and dexterity in learning. Being early sent to Cambridge, he soon became famous for his proficiency in all knowledge, and was rapidly promoted to the higher functions of the university, obtaining the degree of doctor in divinity, and the headship of Pembroke Hall. He then travelled on the continent, visited Paris, and on his return was made chaplain to king Henry VIII., who shortly promoted him to the bishopric of Rochester; whence he was translated to that of London, by good king Edward.

Such was bishop Ridley in the exercise of his pastoral functions, so diligent, so laborious, so devoted, in preaching the true doctrine of Christ, that, as Fox observes, never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every Sunday and holiday he preached to them in some place or other, unless unavoidably prevented; and wheresoever his sermon was delivered, thither the people resorted, swarming round him like bees, coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine which he not only preached but exhibited in the whole course of his life. He was so blameless and harmless, shining as a light in the dark world, that no one could fasten a reproach upon him. His learning was very great, his reading extensive, and his memory such as to rank him among the first of our sages and divines. Of this his

sermons and disputations afford proof; nor did his worst enemies deny it.

To all this he added great wisdom in counsel, sharpness of wit, and deep political knowledge. In winning souls from error, his custom was ever to use the greatest gentleness and tenderness: he delighted in mercy; and when, during Edward's reign, an obstinate opposer, Heath, who had been suspended from his archbishopric in York, was committed to Ridley's care for twelve months, the kindness and courtesy of the good bishop towards his refractory guest sufficiently bespoke the principle of universal love which reigned in his heart, and ruled his life. But the most remarkable instance of this, rendered more striking by the infamous requital he experienced, was his conduct to the aged mother of Bonner. She dwelt in a house adjoining the bishop's palace at Fulham, and invariably, at the hour of dinner and supper, Dr. Ridley would say, "Go for my mother Bonner." A chair was reserved for her at the head of his table, and from that she was never displaced: even when, as was often the case, some of the king's council dined with him, the bishop would say, "By your lordships' favor, this place, of right and custom, is for my mother Bonner." In every respect, he treated her as though she had been his own parent; and to her daughter Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, he extended the same hospitality, with all brotherly love and respect. In frightful contrast to this appears Bonner's extreme cruelty to the sister of Dr. Ridley, whom, with her husband, he stripped of every possession, and sought with rancorous malice the life of the latter, George Shipside. What recompense Ridley himself received at Bonner's hands may appear from the course of his story. Never did tiger more insatiably thirst for the blood of his prey, than

Bonner for that of Ridley. Well might the good bishop adopt the language of the Psalmist, "For the love that I bare unto them, they now take my contrary part."

The more I examine the character of Ridley, the darker appears their enmity. He was in every way formed to command the love and respect of his fellow men. In person and features most comely and pleasing; gentle, cheerful, and forgiving an offence as soon as it was committed against him. To his kindred most kind; but never allowing natural affection to deaden his keen sense of right and wrong. He gave it as a general rule to his own brother and sister, that if at any time they did evil, they must look for nothing further at his hand: they would become as strangers and aliens to him, while such as lived an honest and godly life should be considered his brother and sister in their stead—so jealous was he for the honor of that gospel which his own life adorned.

He loved to mortify his flesh; and lived much in prayer and contemplation. Every morning, when dressed, he devoted half an hour to secret prayer; then went to his study, where he continued till ten o'clock, the hour at which the morning service of the liturgy was regularly attended by all his household. After this, he went to dinner, not talking much; but in what he said, sober, discreet, and wise; and often merry. Dinner was soon removed, and then he allowed an hour at the table, in conversation or chess; after which, if not called to attend suitors, or other business, he would return to his study until five, when the household were again summoned to the evening service of the church. Supper followed; then another hour at chess, of which he appears to have been fond; and again to his study until eleven, when, after another half hour passed on his knees, he retired to rest. This was his daily course; and at Fulham he also

expounded to his family, in order, the Acts and Epistles : a portion every day. To each one who could read, he gave a copy of the Scriptures, encouraging them by rewards to commit the Word of God to memory. The thirteenth chapter of the Acts was a favorite portion with him, and the hundred and first psalm, which he very frequently read to his family, laboring to make them a pattern of honesty and virtuous living. Jesus Christ was the food of his soul ; and with that food he desired that all about him should be nourished to eternal life.

He had been first converted to the truth by means of a book on the sacrament, written by Bertram ; and greatly confirmed therein by conference with Cranmer and Peter Martyr. As, in his former ignorance, he had been zealous, so was he now faithful and constant in upholding true doctrine, and very extensive good was wrought through his means, in the church, while the authority of external power upheld its peace, and defended the proceedings of those who loved the gospel. But when it pleased God to call away that precious prince, king Edward, the English church was left desolate ; a prey to the enemy's hate ; and after the coming in of Mary, this excellent bishop Ridley was among the first on whom they laid hands, and committed to prison. To the Tower he was conveyed, and there confined until, as has before been stated, he was sent, with Cranmer and Latimer to Oxford, and all were enclosed in the common gaol, called Bocardo, for a time. They were then separated, and bishop Ridley was committed to the custody of a man named Irish, where he remained to the day of his martyrdom.

Many were the letters written by this excellent prelate during his captivity. Some were addressed to individuals ; others to those imprisoned for Christ's sake, and

to the afflicted church generally. Nothing can exceed the energy with which he denounces the antichristian religion of Rome, or the earnestness of his exhortations to courage and constancy in the holy warfare of Christ's people against the abominations of great Babylon. - Yet the gentleness of Ridley's spirit never failed to shine forth even in the midst of his most awful warnings. He thus concludes a letter to his fellow captives, wherein he had drawn a faithful portrait of popery, working against God's people. "On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of; but on your part he is glorified. For what can they else do unto you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again; knowing that whiles for Christ's sake they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray, therefore, unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and verity; Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ. Amen."

One more specimen must be given; it is an outpouring

of the bishop's very heart to his dear friend John Bradford, then about to suffer for the truth's sake, and expecting to be sent for that purpose into Lancashire, his birthplace.

"Oh, dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling. Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

"O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matters finally by this fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plentifully poured among his, our dear brethren, in that country, by this your martyrdom. Whence the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives, oh what wondrous things has Christ afterwards wrought for his glory and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes, in Christ's cause, sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice in thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father, for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are

to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

"We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God. I ween I am the weakest, many ways, of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God, and heavenly Father, by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart, blessed be God, is rejoiced of it, that since that time I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt some time before. Oh good brother, blessed be God in thee; and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

"Your brother in Christ,

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

"Brother, farewell."

Who can read such effusions as the above, addressed from one Christian in prison, to another expecting an immediate, fiery death, without emotion? "If God so loved us, we ought also to love one another," is an inspired declaration, to which no believer refuses his assent: but it is among those who are called to suffer indeed for Christ's sake that we trace the deep and fervent affection springing from a full appreciation of what Christ suffered for them. There is something unspeakably touching in the reiteration of that endearing word, brother, in the beautiful letter of bishop Ridley; and the repeated farewell, in reference to a parting, painful indeed to flesh, but promising a speedy, a rejoicing and an eternal reunion before the throne of God and of the Lamb. Would that we drank more deeply into the spirit of our blessed martyrs! If we knew more of the cross, which we are so unwilling to take up, we should have clearer and brighter views of the crown to which it is the appointed way.

CHAPTER II.

BISHOP LATIMER.

WE now proceed to the story of Ridley's companion, that eminent servant and true soldier of Christ, HUGH LATIMER, bishop of Worcester. His father was a respectable yeoman in Leicestershire; and he being the only surviving son, with six daughters, and displaying at the age of four years remarkable talents, his parents resolved to give him a literary education; such as the common schools of the country could afford. So well did he profit by it, that at fourteen he entered at Cambridge, where, after exercising himself in various things, he settled to the study of such school divinity as the darkness of that ignorant age admitted.

Latimer was then most zealously devoted to the Romish religion; and so scrupulously exact in its services, that, as he afterwards confessed, he used to think, when officiating as a priest, he could never mingle his massing wine and water enough; or pay sufficient attention to the observances and decrees of his church. Moreover, he was convinced that if once he became a professed friar, his soul could never be lost. Proportioned to his blind servility to erroneous doctrines, was his bitter enmity against the truth. The gospel, and those who professed it, were the object of his abhorrence; he wrote

against Philip Melancthon, and railed perpetually against a good man named Stafford, at that time lecturer in divinity at Cambridge; warning the young men of the university to give no heed to his teaching.

But the counsel of the Lord shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure. Latimer was a chosen vessel unto him; and when the time arrived for taking away the veil from his heart, God stirred up the blessed martyr Thomas Bilney to attempt the conversion of his zealous opposer. The means adopted were singular; Bilney was at that time working cautiously and secretly, trying out Satan's subtilties, and undermining the kingdom of anti-christ. A direct attack on the prejudices of Latimer would not have been expedient; but Bilney, touched with brotherly love and pity, bethought him of a beautiful device. He came to Latimer's study, asking him to hear his confession, to which the other, of course, agreed; and Bilney pouring out of the fulness of a truly contrite heart and sanctified spirit such things as had never before entered Latimer's mind, he was, by the gracious operation of the Holy Ghost, so touched, that, forsaking at once the study of the school doctors, and other such idle nonsense, he betook himself zealously to true divinity, profiting in it greatly; forsaking his former way of caviling and railing, for quiet and diligent conference with Bilney and others. He also visited Mr. Stafford, and besought his dying forgiveness of all the evil he had formerly spoken concerning him. But Latimer did not stop here: his zeal, mercifully turned into a right direction, increased with his light, and he became both a public preacher and a private instructor of his brethren, in the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus. With the learned he conferred in Latin: the simple and vulgar he delighted to teach in their native tongue; and thus, for

three years, he labored in the university, with great success. Satan, however, watchful for the preservation of his kingdom, did not leave this vigorous assailant unopposed ; but stirred up some of his own brood to molest him.

Latimer had preached certain sermons, about Christmas, 1529, in the churches of St. Edward and St. Augustine, in Cambridge, wherein, alluding to the common usage and games of the season, he spiritualized the cards, giving the people, instead of the idle sport connected with them, texts from the sermon on the mount, ingeniously adapted to the different suits and court cards. The heart he named as trump, being the principal thing wherewith they should serve God ; overthrowing all hypocritical external services, not tending to the furtherance of God's word and sacraments ; and the better to attain this trump, or triumph, he recommended the study of the Scriptures in English, whereby the common people might best learn their duty to God and to their neighbors. This quaint device, according well with the habits and humor of the times, produced such an effect, that a certain Augustine friar took great umbrage at it, as well he might ; for Latimer had with his trump card, the heart, effectually swept the board of all others, as men's traditions, pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, or works of supererogation, the Pope's supremacy, and the whole host of tools belonging to the craft by which the priests of Rome have their living. He also showed the corruption of man's nature, his perpetual offence against God ; repentance wrought by the Holy Spirit, and salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus. To quiet the stir occasioned in Cambridge by Latimer's cards, the prior of the black friars, named Buckenham, preached upon dice ; and taking for his throw a cinque.

and a quatre, attempted to prove from five places in the New Testament, and from four doctors of his church, the inexpediency of allowing the common people to study Scripture. Some of the ill effects to be apprehended from so doing were these: that the ploughman, reading in the gospel that no man having laid his hand on the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God, might perhaps cease from ploughing. The baker, when he heard how a little leaven corrupts a whole lump of dough, might perchance have his bread unleavened, to the disadvantage of our bodies. A simple man, too, taking literally the precept, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," might make himself blind, and so fill the world with beggars. These were three of the five points brought forward by the learned friar, to prove the danger of giving the Bible to the laity.

Latimer, hearing this curious sermon preached in the morning, came to the church the same afternoon, for the avowed purpose of answering it. A great multitude flocked to hear him; not only of doctors and undergraduates from the university, but of all classes among the town's-people. In the midst, right opposite to the pulpit, and close before the preacher, Friar Buckenham planted himself, his black cowl thrown over his shoulders, a very conspicuous object, both to pastor and people. Latimer commenced by reciting the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckenham, and then in a strain of powerful argument, seasoned with no little humor and keen wit, exposed their absurdity. After denying the existence of such danger as the friar apprehended, he demanded, on the part of the people, that at least the reading of the Scriptures should be allowed them, until Englishmen became so mad, that the ploughman durst not look behind him, or the baker leaven his bread. He then proceeded

to explain the use of figurative language in the Bible; declaring such phrases to be in no wise difficult to understand; and that they abounded not only in the Hebrew, but in every speech and language; metaphors being so common, that the very painters placed them on walls and houses. "For instance," said he, looking full at the friar, who sat over against him, "when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad as to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to point out to us what hypocrisy, crafts, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls; willing us thereby to beware of them." In short, so completely was the poor friar put to shame, that he was never known to mount a pulpit again in opposition to Latimer. There was, however, another, a foreign grey friar, named Venetus, who, in his sermons, raged and railed against Latimer, calling him mad and brainless, and exhorting the people not to give heed to his preaching. To this the reformer opposed a very solemn discourse on our Lord's words, Matt. v. 21, 22, showing the heinousness of the offence, in calling a brother Raca, or fool. He then turned to the Scriptures, to prove that it is the appointed lot of God's true people to be accounted fools and madmen, by the wise of this world; and setting forth the contrast that shall appear, when they who now revile his servants shall be, too late, convinced that the folly and madness were their own. This he declared must be the lot of such railers, except they repented. The effect of this answer was to drive the conscience-stricken opposer out of the university.

All this, as may well be supposed, stirred up most violent enmity against the bold reprovcr. Fox says, after enumerating some who distinguished themselves by

their open hostility, "almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy standard-bearer of the gospel sustain." At length, Dr. West, bishop of Ely, thought fit to deliver a sermon against Latimer, at Barwell abbey; and to prohibit his preaching again within the churches of the university. It was then that Dr. Barnes, at that time prior of the Augustines, came forward in aid of the Lord's oppressed cause. He not only licensed Latimer to preach in his church, but himself took the duty in St. Edward's, on the same day, which was both a Sunday and a Christmas day. There, for the first time, did Barnes set forth Jesus Christ, and him crucified, as the sinner's only hope; and for that sermon the informations were laid against him, which proved the beginning of his troubles in the flesh, gloriously ending in the crown of martyrdom.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the adversaries, Latimer continued to preach and teach Jesus Christ in the university, for a considerable time. His chief companion was Bilney, and their favorite resort, where they used often to walk, and to take sweet counsel together in the fields, was long after known by the name of the Heretics' Hill. An event occurred during this period which shows these holy men no less zealous in following His steps who went about doing good, than they were in denouncing, as vain and sinful, the doctrine that would attach any saving merit to the best of human works.

Among the prisoners confined in the gaol of Cambridge, was a woman charged with the murder of her child. In the course of their charitable visits to the captives they noticed this woman, whose denials of her guilt were so strong and steadfast, that Latimer and Bilney resolved fully to search the matter out. They found that the child had been sick of lingering consump-

tion, for a year, and at last died, during the busiest time of harvest, so that when she went to summon help from her neighbors to prepare the child for its burial, not one was at home; and she was forced to set about the melancholy task alone. Her husband, who never had any love for her, coming in while she was thus employed, accused her of murdering the child. On his wicked and cruel charge she was thrown into prison, and condemned to die. Having fully satisfied himself of her innocence, Latimer took advantage of being called to preach before Henry VIII., at Windsor, and of the kindness with which the king afterwards discoursed with him, to intercede for the poor creature. He kneeled down, related all the circumstances, and earnestly craved for her the royal pardon; which was graciously granted, and the official notification of it committed to Latimer. In the mean time the poor woman gave birth, in the prison, to another child, to which Latimer stood godfather; but all the while he carefully concealed from the mother the good news that he had to communicate, hoping that if in any way she was really guilty, the extremity of her circumstances, looking forward to a speedy execution, would induce her to confess it. Instead of this, the only weight on her mind seemed to be a dreadful fear of everlasting perdition, if she should be brought to death before she had gone through the rites of purification, as ordained in the popish church; and most earnestly did she implore Latimer to administer to her those rites. He, however, and Bilney, took occasion from these superstitious apprehensions to preach to her the only true purification from all sin and uncleanness in the atoning blood of Christ; and having seen her brought into what they considered a hopeful state of mind, they showed her the king's pardon, and restored her to liberty.

Many such acts of mercy did these two brothers perform ; insomuch that they were greatly remarked, and, of course, roused the haters of the truth to livelier diligence in opposing it. Dr. Redman took the more charitable course of trying by argument to win Latimer from what he supposed erroneous ways, and was ably answered ; others bestirred themselves in preaching and writing hard things against him, until, by their procurement, he was cited to appear before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, bishop of London, in 1531 ; against which citation Latimer appealed to his ordinary, but was, notwithstanding, taken to London, where he underwent a most tedious persecution, being obliged to appear thrice every week, before the ignorant and bigoted prelates, to answer a long string of charges and propositions. Finding no prospect of an end to their trifling, and that they would neither preach themselves nor suffer him to do his own duty, he addressed an expostulatory letter to one of their number. How he escaped the devices by which they constantly sought to make out matter of more serious accusation against him, and to bring his life into jeopardy, is not exactly known ; but as Latimer, at a later period, in adverting to the snares and traps to which he was then exposed, makes glad mention of the goodness of Almighty God in giving him wisdom to answer, and to avoid the dangers then besetting him, it is not likely that he swerved, in any wise, from his usual bold and honest course ; or was guilty of any prevarication. At length the king was led to show him such favor and countenance, that his enemies durst no further molest him ; and being also greatly honored by the good Lord Cromwell and Dr. Butts, he was shortly advanced to the bishopric of Worcester.

Here Latimer found a wide field for the exercise of

his manifold gifts ; and he used it to the best of his knowledge and power. As a faithful and vigilant pastor, he instructed his flock with wholesome doctrine, confirmed by an example of perfect conversation, adding thereto all the exercises of visiting, exhorting, correcting, and reforming, as far as the dangerous and variable character of the times would admit. Many vain superstitions were yet enforced in the church, which he had not power to do away with : he therefore directed the ministers in his diocese to give as spiritual a turn as they could, to the foolish customs of sprinkling with holy water, giving holy bread, and the like, that the minds of the people might be, as much as possible, weaned from placing any reliance on those things. The trouble into which his enemies endeavored to bring him, he afterwards related in a sermon preached before the young king Edward, as follows :

“ In the king’s days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end one kneeleth down and accuseth me of sedition : and that I had preached seditious doctrine : a heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man’s doing, as if I should name, ye would not think. The king turned to me and said, ‘ What say you to that, sir ? ’

“ Then I kneeled me down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him ; ‘ Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king ? would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king in the king’s sermon ? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach ? ’ Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all ; he had nothing to say.

“ Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself

to his grace, and said, ' I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters ; for I grant there may be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.'

" And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy) that my sayings were well accepted of the king ; for like a gracious lord, he turned unto another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, *Cor regis in manu Domini*, that is, ' The Lord directeth the king's heart.' Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

The character of Latimer, simple, faithful, and undaunted, is admirably set forth in the preceding extract ; which derives additional interest from having been uttered in the presence of Henry's successor ; clearly giving the royal hearer to understand that he must expect the like plain dealing, at his preacher's hands. But a far bolder thing was done by Latimer, and such as, probably, no other man in the kingdom would have ventured upon, with a monarch like Henry the Eighth. An old Roman custom still prevailed in those times, of each bishop in the realm presenting a handsome gift to the king on New Year's day. Some gave rich articles of gold or silver plate, some a well-filled purse ; each endeavoring, as

far as his power went, to gratify his sovereign. Among the rest came Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and presented Henry with a New Testament, folded in a napkin, round which was imprinted this awful warning, from the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Fornicators and adulterers God shall judge." Thus, exercising the functions of his high and holy office, reproving, rebuking, exhorting, with such an abiding fear of God upon him as utterly cast out all fear of man, this good bishop walked in the steps of Jeremiah, and enjoyed the fulfilment of the promise given to the prophet, "Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord." He remained unmolested, and indeed evidently favored by the king; until, on the enactment of the iniquitous six-articles act, he saw that he must either lose the blessing of a good conscience, or resign his bishopric. He chose the latter; and giving up the pastoral charge, in which he was imitated also by Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, he retired into private life. It is related of Latimer, that when, among friends in his own chamber, he first put off his episcopal rochet, he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder lightened, as he said, of so heavy a burden. That weight did not consist in the duties of an office which he, as a faithful pastor, loved; but in the burden laid on his conscience, of adherence to the many superstitious and idolatrous customs retained under Henry's nominal reformation of the church.

But, "in the world ye shall have tribulation" is the heritage of God's dear people; and so Latimer found it. Scarcely had he disentangled himself from the snare of his bishopric, when, by the fall of a tree, he was so bruised and injured, as to endanger his life, occasioning him to suffer great bodily pain to the end of his days. Then,

coming up to London, he was again molested by the bishops, and, at last, committed to the Tower, where he remained, until the coming in of blessed king Edward opened both his prison and his mouth. During the short reign of that godly young prince, Latimer was to be found laboring in every possible way for the promotion of undefiled religion throughout the land. Alike in his own diocese, in the convocation-house, and at court, his diligence was made manifest. In the royal garden, which in Henry's time had been made the scene of many a licentious revel, the venerable bishop would assemble the king and all his court, to hear the doctrine that distilled as the dew, to refresh and invigorate all within its influence. He preached twice every Sunday, notwithstanding his age, then sixty-seven, and the effects of his severe hurt. Every morning, summer and winter, he was up and at his work by two o'clock; and he not unfrequently travelled to other parts of the realm, there to spread the light of divine knowledge.

It is remarkable that, during these times he never ceased to predict what should shortly come upon the church and kingdom. In the midst of their prosperity, while the young king was still in health, with the promise of many lengthened years before him, Latimer seemed to have a constant foreshowing of the evil to come. He always affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, and that Winchester, then in the Tower, was reserved to effect it. A few years proved the correctness of these impressions. Edward died; and very shortly after the proclamation of Mary, a pursuivant was sent into the country to summon Latimer to London, who, having some hours' previous intimation of it, was so far from seeking to escape, that he got all things in readiness for the journey. The officer

finding him prepared to set out, expressed some surprise, on which the venerable prelate remarked, " My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me : and be it known to you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in all the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally." The pursuivant, however, having delivered his letters, abruptly departed, saying he had orders not to tarry for him. From this, it is clear that the wish of his guilty enemies was to drive him to self-exile, by flight ; not to meet his bold and godly answers to their false charges ; well knowing that his wisdom and constancy would rather confirm the Lord's people, and confound his foes, than answer the ends of their crafty devices.

But flight was the last thing that would have occurred to bishop Latimer ; he obeyed the summons, and repaired to London. Passing through Smithfield on his way, he merrily remarked that Smithfield had long groaned for him ; and then, appearing before the council, he quietly endured their unseemly mocks and taunts ; and in a spirit alike valiant and cheerful, took up, once more, his abode in the Tower as a state prisoner. The extremity of cruel usage that he there experienced, fully confirmed what was before apparent, that the persecutors wished for nothing so much as privately to get rid of him : but the Lord had decreed to his faithful servant the prize of a glorious martyrdom, and who could wrest it away ?

The tender mercies of popery—which most falsely assumes the name of a religion, while it is in fact only a system of political craft and worldly aggrandizement,

trafficking in men's souls that it may have their bodies in more hopeless subjection—the tender mercies of popery afforded to this aged and wounded father in the church of Christ no better accommodation, during a long and piercing winter, than a damp cell, without one spark of fire, to keep life in his trembling limbs. One day, as he sat nearly perishing with cold, the lieutenant's man entered his dungeon, when Latimer bade him tell his master that if he did not look better to him, perchance he might deceive him. The lieutenant of the Tower, on hearing this, hastened to examine whether his prisoner was preparing any means for escape; at the same time upbraiding him with what he had spoken to his man. The bishop replied, "Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, so I said; for you look, I think, that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation; for I am here like to starve with cold."

In the like spirit of calm and cheerful endurance did the old man meet all their cruelty and threats, until, unable to touch his life otherwise than as God had appointed, they were obliged to transport him, with Cranmer and Ridley, to Oxford; where, in the month of April, they were condemned, as has been already related, and remanded to several prisons. In October, the mother of abominations resolved to replenish the cup of her drunken rage with the blood of these saints and martyrs of Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

TRIAL OF RIDLEY.

THE archbishop of Canterbury having been called alone before the pope's delegates and the Queen's commissioners, at Oxford, on the 12th of September, of whose examination we shall hereafter speak, it was judged expedient to send down another commission from cardinal Pole, on the 28th of the same month, directed to the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, to this effect : that they should have full power and authority to cite, examine, and judge Dr. Hugh Latimer and Dr. Nicholas Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for the divers and sundry erroneous opinions which they had held and maintained in open disputation at Oxford. The instrument proceeded to empower the commissioners to receive them back, if penitent, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope ; but if they proved stubborn in defending their opinions, then the judges should pass sentence on them, degrade them and clean cut them off from the church ; yielding them to receive the punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

In pursuance hereof, these lords repaired on the last day of December to the divinity school, placing themselves in the lofty seats erected for public lecturers and

disputants. Here being set, in pompous trim, with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet, they sent for the two captive bishops, who presently appeared; but choosing to examine them apart, and to begin with Ridley, these inhuman tormentors sent the aged and feeble Latimer back, not to his prison, where he might have rested a while, but into the outer room, exposed to the rudeness of such as had no right to approach nearer.

Dr. Ridley being placed before them, stood bareheaded, to hear the supposed royal commission publicly read by a notary; but no sooner was cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*, named than he put on his cap. The reading being finished, the bishop of Lincoln addressed the prisoner, telling him that neither he nor the other lords, in respect of their own persons, looked for cap or knee; yet as representing the lord cardinal's grace, legate *a latere* from the pope's holiness, as well as that he was of a notable parentage, descending from regal blood (here Ridley moved his cap, and did obeisance), as also worthy to be revered for his great knowledge, learning, and virtues, and especially as being in England deputy to the pope, he ought at his name to have uncovered his head. Ending by a threat that if he refused so to do, they would have his cap plucked off.

The scene deserves to be recorded in this day of weak and unfaithful concession: the more so, as Ridley was a man remarkable for meekness, charity, forbearance, and courtesy to all. He replied,

"As touching that you said, my lord, that you in your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any dis-

courtesy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honor towards the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence and honor, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man indeed with manifold graces of learning and virtue; and as touching these virtues and points, I with all humility (therewith he put off his cap and bowed his knee) and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honor his grace: but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome (and then he put on his cap) whose usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honor unto him, lest that my so doing and behavior might be prejudicial to mine oath, and derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore that I might not only by confession profess the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behavior, and in all my doings express the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration only; and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honor due to the cardinal his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."

"Master Ridley," said the bishop of Lincoln, "you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap neither for any contumacy towards us, which look for no such honor of you, neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet, as I suppose, do not in this case require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honor due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent (*at which word Mr. Ridley moved his cap*) and excellent qualities; for although

in all the premises honor be due, yet in these respects we require none of you ; but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England deputy of the pope's holiness (*at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Mr. Ridley put on his*), and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity or sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

Ridley answered, "The premises I said, only for that it might as well appear to your lordships as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behavior, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee ; and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God that I am as well at ease as I was this long season : and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behavior that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore condemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles, an officer of the university, to pluck his cap from his head. Mr. Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this scene, alike memorable and instructive, as showing how strictly the fathers of the Reformation guarded every outpost of the ground which we so madly throw open on every side, the examination proceeded. Our limits compel us to give only a summary, although

each word deserves to be weighed and pondered by all who profess the faith for which these noble champions earnestly contended; and in which they became more than conquerors, while loving not their lives unto the death.

The bishop of Lincoln began a long and well-arranged speech, by setting forth the authority vested in the commission, to re-admit bishop Ridley into the unity of what he was pleased to term the Catholic and Apostolic church, "which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time," which, he said, the king, queen, and all the nobles and commons of the reâlm, and all Christian people confessed, while Ridley stood alone in his errors. He exhorted him to renounce his heretical opinions, and, after due penance enjoined, to receive the offered reconciliation. To this intent, he bade him consider that he had once been one of them; had taken degrees in their school, had been made a priest and became a preacher, setting forth their doctrine; and a bishop according to their laws; from which he had lately separated himself, and in the time of heresy became a setter forth of the devilish and seditious doctrine in those days preached. He then asserted that at the time when the new doctrine of faith only began to spring up, Ridley being deputed by the council to win over Stephen Gardiner, had addressed the latter in these words, "Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly to the verity of the sacrament; for I see they will assault that also." From this Lincoln sought to prove that Ridley was still of their mind respecting the mass, and dissembling with Edward's council. Moreover, he

reminded him of having, in a sermon at Paul's cross, as effectually and catholicly spoken of the blessed sacrament as any man might do ; summing up all by a final entreaty to return to his old belief, to acknowledge the infallibility of the Romish church ; and the supremacy of the pope, lineally taking his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised to build his church. In proof of this supremacy being universally recognized by the ancient fathers and doctors, he quoted a place or two out of their writings, with one from Augustine, which he twisted to suit his purpose.

Bishop Ridley, in proceeding to answer this artful oration, thanked Lincoln for his gentleness, for his sober language, and his good and favorable zeal, in trying to prevail on him to leave his religion, " which," said he, " I perfectly know, and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially—which moveth me most—contrary to the expressed word of God."

He then divided Lincoln's argument into three points : " First, That the see of Rome, taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages, lineally from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time. Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same. Thirdly, That I was once of the same opinion, and, together with you, I did acknowledge the same."

His answer to these three points was to this effect : first, as to the foundation of the church, that not Peter himself, a mortal man, was chosen, so frail and brittle, for the foundation of a stable and infallible church, but upon

the rock-stone of Peter's confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," had the Lord declared that he would build his church. "For," Ridley continued, "this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind to confess that Christ is the son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter that upon this rock, that is, upon this confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built; not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

"Now, as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters forth of Christ's glory, in the which, above all other countries and regions, there was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly administered; and as, before Christ's coming, it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion as for the fame of the place, flourished most; whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honor, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be

their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of the bishopric. (At this the people smiled.) Wherefore, the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of the see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give the see of Rome. Semblably, I cannot, nor dare not, but commend, reverence, and honor the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in the due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honor, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the titles of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but, with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true antichrist whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said Gregory, he that maketh himself a bishop over all the world is worse than antichrist."

The second point, consent of the fathers to the assumed supremacy of Rome, he disposes of, by showing that Lincoln had misinterpreted the passage in Augustine, in whose time there were four patriarchs—of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome: the jurisdiction of each extending only to the boundaries of his own province. By wilfully overlooking this, Lincoln had given to Augustine's words a meaning altogether foreign to them, for the sake of forcing a testimony in favor of pa-

pal supremacy ; whereas, he only spoke of his local and prescribed jurisdiction. He thus wound up his argument : " For this pre-eminence also the other doctors, as you recited, say that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one ; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort, the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics ; and yet no man will say that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics ; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be the mother of churches."

Coming to the third point, he continued, " Now where you say I was once of the same religion that you are of, the truth is I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my message to my lord of Winchester should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord ; in very deed I was sent, as your lordship said, from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification ; and because he was very refractory, I said to him, Why, my lord, what make you so great a matter herein ? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar ; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them ; for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense, I willed my lord to be stiff in defence of the sacrament, against the detestable errors of anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

“ In like sort, as touching the sermon which I made at Paul’s cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul’s, and divers other places, fixed, railing bills against the sacrament, terming it Jack of the box, the sacrament of the halter, round Robin, with such like unseemly terms; for the which causes I, to rebuke the unreverend behavior of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion should indeed be under the shapes of bread and wine.”

Here the bishop of Lincoln found it expedient to interrupt the prisoner, by returning to the former cavil about Augustine’s expression; but there too Ridley made good his interpretation so soundly and convincingly that he was glad to shift his ground again, and adverting to their instructions, proceeded to allege the visibility and universality of his church; and to plead that an acknowledgment of the fancied supremacy could not be prejudicial to the crown, since the king and queen had renounced what he termed the usurped power, taken by their predecessors. He set forth that there were two powers, of the sword and of the keys: the former being given to kings and rulers, the latter delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all his successors. As touching their worldly goods, possessions and lives, he said they acknowledged themselves subjects to the king and queen; but in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they owned another head. To this doctrine he finally called on Ridley to subscribe,

after the example of their majesties, who had yielded to it ; assuring him that by so doing, he would delight the pope and all Christendom, bringing quietness and health to his soul ; while they would gladly receive him again, as no longer a rotten, but a lively member of Christ's church. Otherwise they must do their duty, by delivering him up to the temporal judges, to receive at their hands the punishment due for his heresy. In conclusion he added these words : " Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood ; do not you rashly cast away that which is precious in God's sight ; enforce us not to do all that we may do, which is only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church. We do not nor cannot condemn you to die, as most untruly hath been reported of us ; but that is the temporal judge's office ; we only declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination ; so that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you. But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

After much interruption, bishop Ridley obtained a hearing, and spoke as follows : " My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err,*

* He obviously means, that no one being a child of God, and taught of him, will be permitted finally and fatally to err from the truth.

without the which no man can be saved, the which is spread throughout all the world ; that is, the congregation of the faithful : neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said ; but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world. And where Christ's sacraments are duly administered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in a candlestick : but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, and appoint the same at Rome, that there, and nowhere else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is everywhere founded in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lirinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the Catholic church may be, in all schisms and heresies, known, writeth in this manner : When, saith he, one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part ; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.

“ In like sort now, when I see the greatest part to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees ; in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church.”

The bishop of Lincoln contended that the faults thus alleged against the church of Rome were no faults. He absurdly adduced the fact of our Lord's manifesting himself after his resurrection, in the breaking of bread, of Paul breaking bread on the passage towards Rome,

and of the apostles' coming together to break bread, as warrants for obliging the laity to receive in one kind only: adding that it was rightly done to compel the people to believe that Christ was wholly, both flesh and blood, under the form of bread. To establish the right of the church thus to alter commandments, he referred to Paul's injunction to the Gentiles, to eat no blood; and asked by what authority it was now made lawful to the Gentile Christian to eat blood, unless by the permission of the church. Ridley replied, that St. Paul's injunctions to the Gentiles were meant as a sufferance, by little and little to win the Jews to Christ. They were for the time, not respecting those who should come after. But Christ's commandment, "Do this," applied to what He then did, which was not to minister in one kind only; neither was it a commandment for a time, but to be persevered in to the world's end.

But Lincoln affected not to hear this, and proceeded in his oration, setting forth, that power had been vested by the Holy Ghost in what he called the church to alter scripture. He then declared that they did not come to reason the matter with the accused, but to propose certain articles, to each of which he must answer either affirmatively or negatively, either denying them or granting them, without farther disputation or reasoning. These articles he must answer by eight o'clock the next morning, for which purpose he might have a copy of them, with pen, ink and paper, and such books as he might demand, if they were to be had in the university.

The articles were then read as follows:—

I. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first, that thou, Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, An. 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in

some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

II. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar there remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

III. Item, that in the same year and months, thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

IV. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these, the aforesaid assertions, solemnly had been condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the worshipful Dr. Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

V. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, as also to them in distant places far off.

When the paper had been read, Lincoln, after private conference with the other bishops, asked Ridley what he said to the first; requiring him to answer, either affirmatively or negatively. He replied, "Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that upon good advisement I might bring a determinate answer." Lincoln assured him that what he might then say should not be prejudicial to his answers on the morrow; but that he should have liberty to add, diminish, alter and

change of his answers what he would. Ridley replied, "Indeed, in like manner, at our last disputation I had many things promised, but few performed. It was said that after disputation I should have a copy thereof, and license to change mine answers as I should think good; it was meet also that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so in like sort the high priest said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefor that he might."

On this Dr. Weston exclaimed, "What! do you make the king Pilate?" "No, Mr. Doctor," replied the bishop, "I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas' deeds, and the high priest's, which would not condemn any man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer any man to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln, unabashed by the just severity of this exposure of their treacherous deeds, renewed his demand for immediate answers, and his hollow promise of liberty to change on the morrow; Ridley, seeing them resolved on entrapping him, made this declaration: "I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in which point you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto."

As may be supposed, Lincoln refused such permission. "No, Mr. Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary ; we may not suffer you." "I will be short," said the martyr, "I pray your lordship suffer me to speak in few words." "No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears." "Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words." "Well, Mr. Ridley," said Lincoln, "tomorrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past ; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article ?"—which he thereupon rehearsed.

Bishop Ridley, renewing his protestation against the pope's usurped authority and theirs, made answer to the first article, showing that while they and he confessed one thing in words—that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, they differed altogether in the manner of its presence. Ridley held it to be there by spirit and grace, so that whosoever worthily receiveth that sacrament, receiveth effectually Christ's body, and drinketh his blood ; that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion. But the papists made a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, lively and movable body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. This he twice repeated, varying his expressions to enable the notaries the better to take in his exact meaning, and they then penned his answer affirmatively.

To the second article, again reserving his protestation, he replied, "In the sacrament is a certain change, so that that bread which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body : and not only a figure, but effectually representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished with that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodily eyes

see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

The bishop of Lincoln, not satisfied with this, desired him to give a direct answer, either affirmatively or negatively: he then replied more distinctly, that notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of which he spake, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remained, with which the body was in like sort nourished, as the soul, by grace and spirit, with the body of Christ. He then alleged a similar operation in baptism, where, notwithstanding its sacramental use, the water ceased not to be water. Lincoln allowed not the analogy; and the notaries recorded the answer to the second article affirmatively of the charge.

To the third, he replied, "Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his; and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God, of praise and thanksgiving: but to say that sins are hereby taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion. For the sacrament was instituted that we, receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vain." This answer was also written down affirmatively; while the bishop of Lincoln made an attempt to parry the force of Ridley's argument, by asserting that Christ left the unbloody sacrifice of the mass in remembrance of the bleeding sacrifice on the cross.

To the fourth article, Ridley answered that in some part it was true, and in some false ; true, that his assertions were condemned as heresies, though unjustly : false that the condemnation was scholastically ordered.

To the fifth he said, that the premises were in such sort true as in those his answers he had declared. Whether all men spake evil of them he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man said.

He was then remanded till eight o'clock the next morning, Lincoln wishing him to write his answer to the first article, which seemed to perplex them ; but adding that if he wrote anything saving his answers, they would not receive it.

CHAPTER IV.

TRIAL OF LATIMER.

Bishop Ridley being committed to the mayor's custody, Latimer was brought in by the bailiff, and placed before what his brother martyr had justly likened to the seat of Caiaphas. The venerable prelate appeared, bowed down by age, infirmity, and cruel usage, and clad in striking contrast to their proud and pompous array. He had on him an old thread-bare gown of Bristol frieze, confined to his body with a penny leather girdle, to which hung by a long strap of leather his Testament, while his spectacles, without a case, were suspended from his neck; his head was wrapped in a kerchief, over that a night-cap or two, and lastly a large coarse cap or hood, such as the lower order of townspeople used to wear, with two great flaps, buttoning under his chin. On entering, he exclaimed, "My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long, gazing upon the cold walls." Lincoln replied, "Mr. Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault and not mine: but it shall be amended."

On this the good old man bowed his knee to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, a spectacle to angels and men, of one of those described by St. Paul, "of whom the world was not worthy." Lincoln commenced a long harangue by setting forth his commission from my

lord cardinal Pole's grace, and our most reverend father, the pope's holiness, to sit in judgment on God's people. He used the same exhortations as with Ridley, urging the example of royalty, and so forth, the late terrible schism of the English church, in daring to throw off the papal yoke, and the general recantation of that error. That the supremacy of the Romish see was no usurped power, he undertook to prove not only by divers places of the ancient fathers, but also by the express word of God.

Latimer had remained quiet so far, leaning his head on his hand ; but when the bishop talked of proving his point by Scripture, he began to remove the cap and kerchief from his ears.

Lincoln continued, and assuming that our Lord had commissioned Peter to rule or reign over his flock, averred that Peter by hand delivered the same authority to Clement, since which, in all ages, it had remained in the see of Rome. Then he extolled the king and queen, in that their majesties, though personally innocent of any dissent from popery, had humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal's grace ; and, calling on Latimer to renounce his errors and heresies, with an assurance that otherwise he should be put to death, he concluded by an earnest exhortation couched in these words, "Consider, that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God ; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death : consider, that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand ; humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church : do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire.

And I, for my part (then he put off his cap), again with all my heart exhort you."

After a pause, Latimer lifted up his head, which he had again leaned on his elbow, as he stood, or rather knelt before them, and asked if his lordship had said all? Being answered, Yea, he craved permission to speak a few words, which was granted by Lincoln, "Provided you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts." Latimer proceeded, "I beseech your lordship, license me to sit down." This also was permitted. He then commenced a pungent commentary on the popish version of Peter's commission, showing how, in a book lately set forth, this point was argued by citing the authority given to the Levitical priesthood, where, in Deuteronomy it is commanded that if there arise any controversy among the people, the priests shall decide the matter according to the law of God. The author of the book in question, he said, had transferred this authority to the bishops and clergy of the new law; but, leaving out the obligation of deciding according to the law of God, he had only recited, that as the priests of the order of Levi should decide the matter, so it should be taken of the people. This he called a clipping of God's coin; at which expression the people smiled: and he added, "Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now, I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet."

Lincoln answered that his talk was more like taunts than railing; adding that he had not seen the book, nor knew of any such. "Yes, my lord," said Latimer, "the book is open to be seen, and is intituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge." At that the peo-

ple laughed out, for the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission; who, rising, said the book was his.

"Was it yours, my lord?" said Latimer; "indeed I knew not your lordship, neither ever did I see you before; neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me." Again the people rudely laughed; and the good old bishop turning to them said, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter: I answer upon life and death"—then he added in Latin, "Wo unto you that laugh now, for you shall weep."

Lincoln, commanding silence, said, that if he had kept within his bounds, and not used taunts, this had not happened. Then Gloucester, speaking in defence of his book, began, "Mr. Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." Latimer interrupted him; "You look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink? And now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me, as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one, through friends and favor, is cherished and hath good counsel given him, how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength; and lusty; the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

The bishop of Gloucester proceeded, saying that he had only used that passage of Scripture as an argument to prove that if the Jewish priests had power to decide controversies among the people, much more should the

Christian priesthood have that power. What availed it, he asked, to recite the words, "according to God's law?" Latimer answered, Very much ; for though he acknowledged that authority was given to the spirituality to decide in matters of religion, they must do it, he said, according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fancies. Gloucester would have spoken farther, but Lincoln saying they came not there to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his determination to their articles, went on to propose the same articles that had been objected against Ridley. Latimer however continued, addressing the bishop of Gloucester, "Well, my lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God's word ; and not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

The articles were then proceeded in, and Latimer, before answering the first, made a stout protestation against acknowledging the bishop of Rome's authority, saying that he was the king's and queen's majesties' subject, and not the pope's ; neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should now renounce one of them. He required the notaries so to record his protestation, that whatever he would say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

This being understood, he gave answer to the first article. "I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament, by spirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Christ, because that every faithful man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion : but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament as you would have

it." This answer was taken affirmatively of the first charge against him.

To the second article he made reply, "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine; for the change is not in the nature but the dignity, because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread, sanctified by God's word."

Here the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying, "Lo, master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine. That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish; for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread." He alluded to one of the idle superstitions of his church, in distributing to the people what went by that name: an abuse which bishop Latimer had endeavored to put down in his diocese. The martyr, indignant at his quibbling, replied, "Tush, a rûsh for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is holy bread indeed." Lincoln interrupted him; "O, ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread;" at which the audience again laughed. "Well, master Latimer, is not this your answer, That the substance of bread and wine remaineth after consecration?" He replied, "Yes, verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same; and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it bear-

eth ; that is, to be a figure of Christ's body : and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same." This answer was, of course, also taken affirmatively. Lincoln then asked what he said to the fourth article, and recited it. Latimer giving no reply, he asked if he had not heard him ; to which he answered that he heard, but did not understand what he meant. Lincoln said that it meant that his assertions had been condemned by Weston as heresies ; on which Latimer observed, " Yes, I think they were condemned ; but how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all knoweth." The notaries took this answer affirmatively. To the fifth article, stating that these his assertions were notoriously evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people, the good bishop replied, " I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not." When this answer was taken, Lincoln said they did not mean his replies to be prejudicial to him : on the morrow he should have liberty to alter what he pleased ; trusting he might then have pondered the matter so well as to confess what they call the truth.

" Now, my lord," said Latimer, " I pray you give me license in three words to declare why I have refused the authority of the pope." " Nay, Mr. Latimer," replied Lincoln, " to-morrow you shall have license to speak forty words." The martyr entreated that he might not be compelled to appear again on the morrow, assuring them that any respite was vain ; but he was told there was no remedy ; he must needs appear at eight o'clock on the following morning. He was then dismissed, in custody of the mayor.

CHAPTER V.

SENTENCE OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

The next day, being the first of October, the lords repaired to St. Mary's church, seating themselves on a high throne, well trimmed with tissue and silk. At some distance from their feet was placed a framed table covered with a silken cloth, where sat bishop Ridley : while benches on the four sides around it accommodated the heads of the university, with many gentlemen who, on account of its being also sessions' day, were in town, and attended the trial. A frame surrounded the seats, to keep off the press ; for the whole university, and the townspeople too, were assembled to see the end of these two confessors. Silence being commanded, Lincoln addressed Ridley as before, touching his lack of cap-service to the lord cardinal's grace, as legate to the pope. At the mention of his holiness' name, all the bishops uncovered their heads, save Ridley, who moved not. He was then menaced with a forcible removal of the obnoxious cap, as before ; to which he replied, by repeating his quiet but firm protestation, and the cap was hastily and rudely snatched off by an attendant beadle.

Then the bishop of Lincoln referred to his answer to the first article, on the preceding day, as having been unsatisfactory to them ; stating that they had allowed him the use of pen, ink, and paper, with books, with leave to

alter his former answers ; and they were then assembled to learn if he was still in the same mind, or would revoke his former assertions, and in all points submit to the determination of the church. With cap in hand, he very earnestly besought Ridley so to do ; not, he said, because his conscience pricked him, as Ridley supposed, but because he saw him to be a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. He then endeavored to establish the correctness of his former interpretation of St. Augustine. Ridley maintained his first opinion of it ; and after long disputation Lincoln proposed to decide the point by a reference to other docters, from several of whom he rehearsed passages : but Ridley demanded both a reference to the places and an exact recital of the very words used by each author, to avoid a misinterpretation. It then appeared that the book from which Lincoln was reading, was only a compilation of extracts, made by some student ; and those not literally given. He next offered to show that Philip Melancthon had adjudged the matter of the sacrament against Ridley, and called for the book to prove it : but as they had taken good care, a short time before, to burn all Melancthon's works, it was not forthcoming. His last essay was to prove, by an argument so absurd that it made Ridley smile, that if altars were pulled down in England, Christ was not come ; because Cyrillus had endeavored to prove to the Jews that Christ was come, by the fact of altars being erected to his name, in Britain and far countries. The martyr not only explained the true sense of the passage, but strengthened his own argument by it ; saying in conclusion, " As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than

in those latter days when all things were brought to the rights and usage of the primitive church." Lincoln rudely exclaimed, "A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive! and yet when your table was constituted you never could be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to put it clean out of the church."

Ridley replied, "Your lordship's unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men do now from other things." Here Lincoln told him he should judge no man; and proceeded in all haste to call over the articles, saying that if he had brought his answer to the first in writing they would receive it; but if he had written any other matter, they would not receive it. Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and commenced reading it, but a beadle was ordered to take it from him. He demanded license to go on, saying it was nothing but his answers; and on being refused, he remonstrated against the injustice of requiring his answer and then denying him liberty to publish it, for the audience to judge between them. He was told by the bishops they would examine it, and if it seemed good to them, it should be published; if he refused this, they would not take his answer at all. Seeing no remedy, he gave it up to the officer, who handed it to Lincoln, who, after privately communicating with the other bishops, declared the purport of the paper, but said he would not read what was written, as it contained blasphemy, with which he would not fill the ears of the audience, and abuse their patience. Ridley very earnestly pressed its publication, declaring that, except a line or two, it contained nothing but the

sayings of the ancient doctors in confirmation of his assertions. All his entreaties were vain : Lincoln persisted that it was blasphemous, and unfit to be read ; reciting again the first article, and requiring an answer. Ridley referred him to what he had written, both then, and at his former examination before Weston. The like reference he gave, on being questioned as to the second article ; and so on of all the rest.

Then the bishop of Gloucester thus commenced an harangue, "If you'd once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be persuaded to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you—Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit : so that, if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also." He reminded him of the prophet's denunciation of wo to them that are wise in their own conceits, which he declared Ridley to be, because he refused the determination of the church, and brought Scripture to prove his assertions ; they also, he said, brought Scripture ; but Ridley understood the Scriptures in one sense, they in another ; who was to judge between them ? If he followed his own interpretation, then he was wise in his own conceit : if he said he would be led by the ancient doctors and fathers, he also differed from themselves in the construction to be put on their writings, and, abiding by his private views of them, he was still wise in his own conceit. On this pithy argument he grounded the necessity of blind submission to the church in all mat-

ters of controversy, reminding him how the Arians and other heretics had been thereby convinced. Of these materials he made a very long oration, still urging Ridley to escape the propheticall wo by submitting his judgment and reason to the church. When he had finished, bishop Ridley answered briefly that he saw not how that wo affected him ; and denied that Cranmer leaned to him, being greatly before him in years and learning ; and meet to be his schoolmaster. Gloucester replied that Latimer had referred to Cranmer, and he to Ridley : and then Lincoln again, holding his cap in hand, most affectionately urged him to recant. He answered, firmly, that he was fully persuaded the religion he defended was grounded upon God's word ; and therefore without great offence to God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God ; but he desired the bishop to perform his grant, having promised the day before that he should have license to show cause why he could not, with a safe conscience, admit the authority of the pope. Lincoln acknowledged that, whereas he had demanded to speak three words, he was content to let him speak forty, and would perform the grant.

Here Weston stepped forth, saying, " Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Ridley admitted this, but pleaded that they were not of the prescribed number, nor of that matter. Lincoln, with a treacherous and insulting mockery for which there is no parallel, bade him take his license ; and added he should speak but forty, as he would tell them on his fingers. Ridley began to speak ; but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried that his number was out ; and he was instantly silenced. The bishop of Lincoln then regretted that they must proceed in their commission, taking God to witness that he was sorry for Mr

Ridley : who replied, " I believe it will, my lord ; forasmuch as it will one day be burdenous to your soul." Lincoln denied this, and forthwith read the sentence of condemnation, setting forth that Nicholas Ridley, for stubbornly affirming and defending certain heresies, first, in denying the true and natural body of Christ and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar ; secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after consecration ; thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and as he could by no means be persuaded from his heresies, was adjudged a heretic, sentenced to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order, and, as being no longer a member of the church, to be delivered over to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment, according to the tenor of the temporal laws : and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

Having so far completed their crime against God's faithful servant, Ridley, and given him into the custody of the mayor, these wretched men proceeded to call before them the aged Latimer, for the same wicked purpose. But as nothing is too trivial to engage the attention of the apostate church, where she can exhibit the bitterness of her deadly hatred against Christ, in the persons of his saints, the cloth which had covered the table where Ridley sat was removed, on the plea that Latimer had never, like him, obtained the degree of a doctor. When the good old bishop appeared, and found only the bare table before him, he composedly laid down his hat, an old felt, and resting his elbows upon it, he immediately addressed the commissioners, saying, " My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance : for I am an old man, and have a very

evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm." Lincoln replied, that he was sorry for his hurt ; and promised to see to better order at his departure. Latimer thanked him with a very low obeisance ; and Lincoln went on to exhort, and to inquire whether he was still the same man as yesterday, or whether he would recant, revoke his errors, and return to the catholic church. He was soon interrupted by the prisoner, who said, " Your lordship often doth repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand ; but not the church which you call catholic, which rather should be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you : for it is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church. I must use here in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprian, who, at what time he was cited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take determination and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answereth them thus : In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel or determination be taken. And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was the most like to be the church of Christ, whether he which was persecuted, or they which did persecute ? Christ, said he, has foreshowed that he that doth follow him must take up his cross and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death ? Also, the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection." This he proved, beginning at Noah's time, even to the apostles.

Lincoln denied that his cause and Cyprian's were the same : but Latimer interrupted him, saying, "Yes, verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's : for his was for the word of God, and so is mine." Lincoln continued maintaining that before Christ's coming, there were very few who served God : that at the beginning of what he called the time of grace, it could not be but that the apostles must suffer some persecution, but that now, the church having arrived at perfection, and obtained the jurisdiction which unchristian princes formerly resisted, there was a great change in its estate. Having thus, to his own satisfaction, disposed of tribulation, as being no longer a mark of Christ's church, he informed Latimer that he must answer again to the articles, in the hope of showing some change in his opinions. They were recited ; and answered as before. To the third article, respecting the mass, a determinate reply being demanded, he said, " Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice : neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice."

To this followed a final exhortation to recant, which he answered by saying that he neither could nor would deny his Master, Christ, and his verity. The condemnation was read, and then the bishops broke up their session and dismissed the audience. Bishop Latimer reminded Lincoln of his promise to let him declare why he refused the pope's authority ; but Lincoln said he could not now hear him, neither ought to talk with him. Latimer asked if it was not lawful for him to appeal from this judgment : Lincoln inquired, to whom he would appeal ? " To the next general council," said Latimer, " which shall be truly called in God's name." To this appellation the other assented ; adding, how-

ever, that it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

The people still pressed in undiminished numbers, expecting some further process; but the mockery of a trial was concluded. Lincoln delivered his innocent victim to the mayor, commanded the people to disperse, and directed that Latimer should wait till the crowd was thinned, lest he should take hurt at his egress as he did at his entrance. He was then led to prison.

CHAPTER VI.

BURNING OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

NEARLY a fortnight having elapsed since the condemnation of these faithful pastors, and no hope appearing that their constancy might be shaken, it was deemed expedient to perpetrate forthwith the crowning act of murder. Preparatory to this, they must be degraded; for the church of Rome is too cunningly watchful over the immunities of her privileged order to deliver them up to a temporal jurisdiction, until she has formally cast them out of her ecclesiastical pale. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, being entrusted with the office, went on the 15th of October to the house of Mr. Irish, where bishop Ridley was closely imprisoned, taking with him the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other principal men of the university. He told Ridley the purpose of their coming, and again endeavored to turn him away from the faith,

offering the royal pardon on that condition; otherwise they must proceed according to law, though against their wills. "We have," said he, "been oftentimes with you; and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good." These words account for the anxiety evinced by the persecuting party for the recantation of men whom they personally hated, and whose blood they longed to shed. Proportioned to their high standing in the estimation of Christ's flock, was the power of their example; and as their constancy unto death was blessed to the confirmation of many in the truth for which they willingly suffered, so would their apostacy have led a yet greater multitude to follow them in doing evil. It is grievous to find that, even where charity would hope to discern a reluctance to shed innocent blood on the part of those unrighteous judges, they frequently betrayed that their object was, by compassing sea and land, to gain one proselyte in order to strengthen their party, and more speedily and effectually to quench the light of truth. Gloucester continued, "Therefore, good Mr. Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away, in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

The martyr replied, "My lord, you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to His glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

"Well, you were best, Mr. Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church cannot be saved ; therefore I say once again, that whiles you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

"I marvel," answered Ridley, "that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behavior and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations." Here he attempted to reason with Brooks on the subject, but the latter would not suffer it ; nevertheless Ridley continued to speak so earnestly against the pope that the other told him if he did not hold his peace he should be compelled against his will to do so. The gag was no unusual weapon of defence against those who spoke with a wisdom and power not to be gainsaid or resisted otherwise. Gloucester added, that seeing he would not receive the queen's mercy, they must go on to degrade him from the dignity of priesthood ; saying moreover, "we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you, committing you to the secular power ; you know what doth follow." "Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you," was the reply ; "I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

Brooks desired him to put off his cap and put upon him the surplice ; he answered, "I will not." "But you must." "I will not." "You must ; therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

" Truly, if it come upon me it shall be against my will."
" Will you not put it upon you ?" " No, that I will not."
" It shall be put upon you by some one or other." " Do therein as it shall please you : I am well contented with that, and more than that ; the servant is not above his Master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us, his servants."

The surplice was then forcibly put on him, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass : during which he vehemently inveighed against the Romish bishop, calling him Antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, too fond for a vice in a play. This made Dr. Brooks very angry : he bade him hold his peace, for that he did but rail. The Christian martyr replied, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for it. Here the Greek lecturer of the university standing by, counselled that he should be gagged. Dr. Ridley looked earnestly at him, shook his head, and with a sigh ejaculated, " Oh, well, well, well." Nevertheless, as they proceeded in their fantastic tricks, he continually spoke the most unwelcome things, in spite of their reproaches, and menaces of gagging him.

When they came to the place where he should hold the chalice and wafer-cake, they bade him take them into his hands : he replied, " They shall not come into my hands ; and if they do, they shall fall to the ground for me." An attendant was obliged to hold them fast in his hands while Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, appertaining to that part of the performance. Next they placed a book in his hand, while Brooks recited the passage, " We do take from you the office of preaching the

gospel," &c. At these words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, and looking up towards heaven, said, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" The massing garments being taken off one by one, till the surplice only was left, they proceeded to the last step of the degradation, by deposing him from being a singing man. Here he deridingly exclaimed at their wonderful power, at being able to take from a man that which he never had; saying that he never was a singer in all his life, yet they were taking that office from him.

When this ridiculous business had been solemnly ended, Ridley asked Brooks if he had done; as, if so, he wished to talk a little with him of those matters: but Gloucester replied that he was now out of the church, and the law forbade his talking with any such. Ridley observed, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." As they prepared to go, he entreated Brooks to read a little book of Bertram's concerning the sacrament, promising he would find much good learning in it, if he would read it with indifferent judgment. No answer being returned to this, he remarked, "Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well it boots not; I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs." He then requested Gloucester to be a means of supplicating the queen on behalf of many poor persons, particularly his own sister and her husband then present: they had, he said, a poor living granted to them by him, when he was bishop of London, which was taken away by him who now occupied his place, without law or conscience. It has already been stated how barbarously the ungrateful Bonner acted in this

matter: Ridley had drawn up a petition to the queen, which he now requested Brooks to hear him read, but when he came to name his poor sister, he wept, and for a time could not speak for weeping. Recovering himself he said, "This is nature which moveth me; but I have done now;" and so read to the end: after which he delivered the paper to his brother, charging him to make the same supplication for all who had any leases or grants from him, and were deprived by Bonner, that he should do for himself. This scene appears to have touched the stony heart of Brooks; for he kindly said, "Indeed, Mr. Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them." "I pray you for God's sake to do so," said Ridley; to which Brooks artfully rejoined: "I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it; and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted." But the martyr's constancy was not to be shaken by the pleadings of brotherly tenderness in his heart: he replied, "What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God's will be done."

"I will do what lieth in me," said Brooks, and immediately calling the bailiffs, he delivered the prisoner to them, with this charge, that they should keep him safely from any man speaking to him, and bring him to the place of execution whenever they were commanded. On hearing this, God's dear servant burst out into these expressions, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime; for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Brooks told

him he played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting and praising himself. "No, no," he answered, "as I said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable, wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same; therefore I pray you, have no such opinion of me."

As they departed, a warden of one of the colleges exhorted him to repent, and to forsake his erroneous opinion. The bishop replied, "Sir, repent you; for you are out of the truth; and I pray God, if it be his blessed will, have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." The other in anger said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go:" adding, "He is the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

Approaching so near the blessed consummation of all his hopes, Dr. Ridley became not only joyous, but merry. He caused himself to be washed; and as he sat at supper, the night before he suffered, he bade his keeper, Mr. Irish, with his wife and all present, to his marriage, saying, "To-morrow I must be married." Speaking of his sister, whom he so tenderly loved, he wished her there, and asked her husband, who was present, whether she could find in her heart to be there, or no; who answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart." On that Ridley observed he was glad to hear so much of her. Then seeing his hostess weeping much at this discourse, he sweetly said, "Oh, Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my

breakfast be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be most pleasant and sweet." When they rose from table, his brother offered to watch all night with him ; but he said, " No, no, that you shall not. For I mind, God willing, to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did in my life." His brother therefore left him, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great.

On the north side of the town of Oxford, over against Baliol college, in a ditch or hollow, the stake was set and all prepared for these faithful pastors to follow the steps of the good Shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep. The guilty queen, dreading an attempt at rescue, had commanded lord Williams to attend, with a sufficient guard to hold the people in check ; and this being done, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs. First came Dr. Ridley, habited as a bishop was wont to be, in a fair black gown, furred and faced, a velvet tippet, also furred, about his neck ; on his head a velvet nightcap, with a cornered cap over it, and slippers on his feet. He walked between the mayor and an alderman, towards the stake.

After him appeared the venerable form of old Latimer, clad in a poor threadbare frock of Bristol frieze, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief, on his head ; all made ready for the fire, as appeared by the new long shroud that hung over his hose to his feet. A spectacle, which, says Fox, " stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding, on the one side the honor they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen."

Bishop Ridley, as he passed near Bocardo, looked up to the window, hoping to have seen and spoken to Cranmer, whom he knew to be there confined. But friar Scott and his fellows were holding Cranmer in disputa-

tion, which prevented his being seen by his brethren. Ridley then looking back espied Latimer following, and said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," answered the old man, "have after, as fast as I can follow." However, he could not make all the haste he wished; and Ridley first reached the place, where with a wonderful earnestness he lifted up his hands, looking towards heaven: then, seeing Latimer arrive, with a most cheerful look he ran to him, embraced and kissed him; speaking words of comfort and encouragement; "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

He then went to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and fervently prayed; Latimer kneeling behind him, as earnestly called upon God as he. After this they arose, and had a little space for private conversation together, while the men who were to witness their torments in the burning flame, consulted their own ease, by shifting their seats to a place less exposed to the rays of the sun. Dr. South, who had recanted in king Edward's time, was now chosen to preach against the martyrs; he entered a pulpit, and took for his text the words, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing;" alleging that the goodness of the cause, not the order of the death, made the holiness of the person, confirming it by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who had lately hanged herself. He said that they, and other criminals whom he named, might as well be adjudged righteous, for desperately sundering their souls from their bodies, as he feared those men who stood before him would do; still crying to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. Then he declared the diversities of opinion among the reformers,

classing them as Lutherans, Œcolampadians, and Zuínglians, of which latter sect he said the prisoners were, and that it was the worst ; the old church of Christ, and catholic faith, holding far otherwise. At this, and similar passages of his discourse, the martyrs lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, as calling upon God to witness for His truth. South ended his sermon, of scarcely a quarter of an hour's duration, by very briefly exhorting them to recant, and come home again to the church, to save their lives and souls, which else were both condemned.

Ridley asked Latimer, " Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I ? " Latimer replied, " Begin you first, I pray you. " " I will," said he : and so, both kneeling towards lord Williams, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the other commissioners, who sat on a form together, bishop Ridley addressed them, " I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words : " but while lord Williams bent towards the mayor and vice-chancellor, seemingly inquiring whether the request might be complied with, the latter, with the bailiffs, ran hastily to Ridley, stopping his mouth with their hands, and saying, " Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty to speak, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life. " " Not otherwise ? " asked Ridley. " No," said Marshall, the vice-chancellor ; " therefore, if you will not do so, then there is no remedy, but you must suffer your deserts. " Ridley answered, " Well ; so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth. God's will be done in me. " Then, rising up, he said with a loud voice, " Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all. "

To which Latimer added a frequent saying of his, "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." He also remarked that he could answer South well enough, if he might be allowed : but immediately they were commanded to make themselves ready, and with all meekness they obeyed. Bishop Ridley, taking off his gown and tippet, gave them to his brother-in-law, Shipside, who, during the whole time of his imprisonment, though not suffered to be with him, had yet at his own expense lodged hard by, providing him with necessaries, which he sent by the serjeant who guarded him. Other parts of his apparel he gave away ; and the rest the bailiffs took : and to some gentlemen standing by, he delivered various little tokens of remembrance, which they received with much weeping. To Sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat ; to others a napkin, a nutmeg, a race of ginger, his dial, and whatever trifling thing he had about him. Such was the eagerness of those who stood near him to secure a memorial of this blessed martyr, that some to whom he gave nothing plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he who could get any rag of him.

Bishop Latimer gave nothing, but quietly suffered the keeper to pull off his hose, and the rest of his simple array ; and being stripped to his shroud, a remarkable change was observed in his appearance ; for whereas he had hitherto seemed a withered, decrepit, and even a deformed old man, he now stood perfectly upright, a straight and comely person. Ridley was disposed to remain in his truss, or trousers ; but on his brother observing that it would occasion him more pain, and that the article of dress would do some poor man good, he yielded to the latter plea, and saying, " Be it, in the name of God," delivered it to his brother. Then, being stripped to his shirt, he stood upon a stone by the stake,

and holding up his hand, said, "O, heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death : I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

The smith now brought a chain, and passed it round the bodies of the two martyrs, as they quietly stood on either side of the stake : while he was hammering the staple into the wood, Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shaking it, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course." This being done, Shipside brought him some gunpowder in a bag to tie round his neck ; which he received as sent of God, to be a means of shortening his torment : at the same time inquiring whether he had any for his brother, meaning Latimer, and hastening him to give it immediately, lest it might come too late ; which was done. One more instance of the tender concern for others which filled the sweet spirit of this holy man, remained to be given : he addressed Williams, entreating his interest with the queen on behalf of those poor men dispossessed of their leases by Bonner, respecting whose hard case he had drawn up a petition, and referred him to his brother, Shipside, whom he pointed out, as having the paper in his care, ending with these words, "I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them : you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you." A lighted fagot was then brought, and laid down at his feet, on which Latimer turned and addressed him in those memorable, and we humbly hope, prophetic words, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man : WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST NEVER SHALL BE PUT OUT."

The flames rose ; and Ridley in a wonderfully loud

voice exclaimed in Latin, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," often repeating in English, "Lord, receive my spirit!" Latimer on the other side as vehemently crying out, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" and welcoming, as it were, the flame, he embraced it, bathed his hands in it, stroked his venerable face with them, and soon died, seemingly with little pain, or none. So ended this old and blessed servant of God his laborious works and fruitful life, by an easy and quiet death in the midst of the fire, into which he cheerfully entered for Christ's sake.

But it pleased the Lord to glorify himself otherwise in Ridley: his torments were terrible, and protracted to an extent that it sickens the heart to contemplate. The fire had been made so ill, by heaping a great quantity of heavy fagots very high about him, above the lighter combustibles, that the solid wood kept down the flame, causing it to rage intensely beneath, without ascending. The martyr, finding his lower extremities only burning, requested those about him, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him; which his poor brother Shipside hearing, and in the anguish of his spirit not rightly understanding, he heaped more fagots on the pile, hoping so to hasten the conflagration, which, of course, was further repressed by it, and became more vehement beneath, burning to a cinder all the nether parts of the sufferer, without approaching the vitals. In this horrible state, he continued to leap up and down under the wood, praying them to let the fire come, and repeatedly exclaiming, "I cannot burn," writhing in the torture; as he turned from side to side, the bystanders saw even his shirt unconsumed, clean, and unscorched by the flame, while his legs were totally burnt off. In such extremity his heart was still fixed trusting in his God, and ejaculating frequently,

"Lord, have mercy upon me!" intermingling it with entreaties, "Let the fire come unto me—I cannot burn." At last one of the bill-men with his weapon mercifully pulled away the fagots from above, so giving the flame power to rise; which the sufferer no sooner saw, than with an eager effort he wrenched his mutilated body to that side, to meet the welcome deliverance. The flame now touched the gunpowder, and he was seen to stir no more; but after burning awhile on the other side, and, as some reported, requesting the guards to hold his body to the stake with their bills, he fell over the chain at the feet of Latimer's corpse.

It was a sight that moved hundreds to tears and lamentations, even among those who considered him as an evil doer: the agony of his affectionate brother may well be conceived, who innocently increased and lengthened his torments, while seeking to terminate them. Fox dwells upon the scene with a touching lament. Whoso considered their preferment in times past, the places of honor that they sometimes occupied in this commonwealth, the favor they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honor, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment. Well dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

And, indeed, it is only by turning to that sure promise of the Lord's righteous judgment that the heart can be restrained from uttering the language of burning indigna-

tion against those savage murderers, who have long since gone to their awful account : it cannot, nor ought it to be kept from beholding with horror the nature of the Antichristian mystery of iniquity, manifested in these its deadly fruits. The very uttermost that could be alleged against the two good bishops, was a dissent from the church of Rome, upheld by an appeal to the written word of God : and for this they were doomed to suffer all that the unrestrained barbarity of man could inflict upon his fellow, even to a most agonizing death. Wo unto us, if with these examples before us, we shrink not from touching even the outermost fringe of that harlot's polluted garments ! There is that mingled with the dust of Oxford which will rise up in the judgment, a terrible witness against those who, while trampling on the ashes of the martyrs, shall dare to suggest any, even the slightest measure of approximation to the apostate church—any recognition of her, otherwise than as the deeply accursed enemy of Christ and his saints.

It is remarkable that the venerable Latimer, whose fervency in prayer was such that he often continued kneeling until he was unable to rise without assistance, had particularly dwelt on three things, concerning which he had made constant supplication to God during his imprisonment. The feebleness of his age, added to his bodily ailments, disabled him from using his pen so much as his brothers in tribulation did : but this seemed to add to the urgency and perseverance of his prayers. The three requests on which he chiefly insisted were these, First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might shed his heart's blood for the same. Secondly, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again ; and

these words, *once again, once again*, he did so inculcate and beat into the ear of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. Thirdly, he prayed for the preservation of the princess Elizabeth, whom he was accustomed to name, and even with tears to desire God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. These were his chief petitions; and that they were all graciously heard and granted is apparent. With regard to the first he gave proof of the grace received, in his patience and constancy when standing at the stake, just before the tormentors applied the fire, by repeating with a sweet and placid countenance, his eyes being raised joyfully to heaven, "God is faithful, who doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength;" and his heart's blood was literally shed, in a somewhat extraordinary manner; for, his body being forced open by the violence of the fire, his heart was exposed; and in the sight of all the people such a profusion of blood burst from the heart, as excited the astonishment of those who saw it. The other two petitions were granted together; Elizabeth was preserved, amid all the snares and perils that constantly surrounded her steps, to become the means of restoring the gospel to England, of comforting the afflicted people of God, and of establishing the realm in a state of security and prosperity beyond what it had ever before enjoyed.

CHAPTER VII.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

THE time had now arrived, when the highest dignitary of the English church must fall a prey—offered up, in flames, to the insatiable Moloch of popery; and snatched by special grace, even at the last, as a brand from unquenchable burning. The history of that amiable and estimable man, THOMAS CRANMER, archbishop of Canterbury, is one of no ordinary interest. By the singular providence of God, he was brought from the retirement of private life, to become one of the most conspicuous characters of that eventful period; to promote, beyond any other individual, the sacred cause of the gospel in England; and finally, after a grievous fall to rise again, and stand at the post of martyrdom, a witness for the truth.

Cranmer was of a good and ancient family, born in Nottinghamshire; he entered at Cambridge, where, prospering well in the higher orders of study, he was chosen fellow of Jesus College. By marrying, however, he soon forfeited his fellowship, and became reader in Buckingham College. His wife dying soon after, he was reëlected fellow, by his former companions, where he soon attained the degree of doctor and lecturer in divinity, and from his high reputation was generally chosen one

of the heads, whose office it was to examine the candidates for degrees, either admitting them, or suspending the admission until they should be better furnished with learning. Dr. Cranmer, early impressed with the importance of scriptural knowledge, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, until they were thoroughly acquainted with the Bible history; so that he gave much offence, and provoked no little resentment among those whom he sent back to study this neglected branch. Nevertheless, in after time, some of these individuals becoming famous and useful to the church through their scriptural knowledge, were in the habit of highly extolling Cranmer's firmness in this point, to which they owed all their attainments. When Wolsey's famous college, at Oxford, was in progress, Cranmer was greatly solicited to accept a fellowship in it; but he refused, though at the hazard of incurring the haughty cardinal's displeasure: and this was the first evident link in the remarkable chain of his future eminence. Remaining at Cambridge, he was exposed to the dangers of the plague, which broke out there; and having the two young sons of a Mr. Cressy under his charge, in college, he took them home to their father's house, at Waltham Abbey, from the peril of the infection; himself remaining there as a guest.

It was just at this time that Henry VIII., who had been for two or three years agitating the subject of his divorce among the canonists and learned men, found himself trifled with by the two cardinals, Campeius and Wolsey, who suddenly closed their commission, when he expected an immediate sentence, pretending that it was not allowable to hold courts on ecclesiastical matters during harvest. The king, exasperated at this, had despatched Campeius back to Rome, and in very bad

humor left London, to pass a night or two at Waltham. His two chief helpers in the business, Stephen Gardiner, then secretary, and Dr. Fox, almoner, accompanying him, were lodged in the house of Mr. Cressy, where, meeting Dr. Cranmer at supper, the discourse turned upon the king's business, which was freely discussed by them, being old college acquaintances. Cranmer, on his opinion being asked, said he had not studied the matter, but it seemed to him they were taking a wrong course. Instead of pursuing the case in ecclesiastical courts, he thought the better way would have been simply to propound the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife or no? and to let the divines discuss it by the authority of the word of God, whereby the king's conscience might be better satisfied than by these uncertain proceedings. He spoke much of the certainty that Scripture would declare and show the truth; which might as well be discovered in England as at Rome.

The next day Henry removed to Greenwich, and being, as usual, very restless on the subject, he sent for his two favorite counsellors, asking them what he should now do: whether he must send a new commission to Rome; lamenting the impossibility of foreseeing when there would be an end of it. Dr. Fox, anxious to set his master's mind at rest, told him there was a hope of settling it with less labor; and repeated Cranmer's advice. Gardiner showed no little vexation at this honest proceeding, for he intended to have taken the credit of it on themselves, and endeavored still to give that color to the affair, but the impetuous mind of Henry had caught what he rightly judged would be a clue to guide him out of the labyrinth: he ordered that Cranmer should forthwith be sent for, adding, "That man hath the sow by the right ear; and if I had known this advice but

two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness."

Cranmer, who greatly disliked the summons, entreated his friends by some means to excuse him to the king; and they strove so to do; but Henry scolded and insisted, and showed how vain it was to oppose his despotic will. Cranmer was introduced, and Henry, both requesting as a friend, and commanding as a king, that he would set apart all other business and affairs to see his cause furthered, he was obliged to assent, suggesting, however, that it would be best to commit the examination of the matter by the word of God to the principal men in the universities. Henry agreed to this, still insisting that Cranmer should write out his own mind concerning it. He then called the earl of Wiltshire, giving him charge to entertain Cranmer in his house for this purpose; and to provide him with books and all other requisites. This was done; Scripture, general councils, and ancient writers, were all adduced in support of Cranmer's individual opinion, which was this—that the bishop of Rome had no such authority as whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the Scripture.

When the king saw this book, he asked, "Will you abide by this that you have here written, before the bishop of Rome?" "That I will do, by God's grace," replied Dr. Cranmer, "if your majesty do send me thither." Thus, by his means, learned men having been sent abroad to discuss the matter in foreign universities, it was also solemnly disputed in Oxford and Cambridge; and by them it was concluded that no such matrimony was, by the word of God, lawful. The next step was the sending of an ambassage to Rome, consisting of the earl of Wiltshire, Cranmer, Stokesby, Carne, Bennet, and other learned doctors and gentlemen. Such a mis-

sion had never before approached the wearer of the triple crown : such a blow had never been aimed at his authority. Henry, recently the pope's champion against Luther, had laid hold on the weapon beneath which alone the mighty power of the papacy crumbles into dust ; and little did the selfish, despotic king foresee what consequences would ensue from this daring step, of sending to inform him who exalteth himself above all that is called God and is worshipped, that the word of inspiration was of higher authority than the thundered dicta of his infallibility !

The interview with the pope was marked by an incident which Fox records with much glee, as ominous of what was shortly to take place between the Romish see and England. When they came into the presence, the bishop of Rome, seated on high in his cloth of estate, richly apparelled, offered his sandaled foot to be kissed by the ambassadors. The earl of Wiltshire not choosing so to degrade himself, stood still, and the rest followed their leader's example. It happened that the earl had brought with him a favorite spaniel of a large breed, which accompanied him on this occasion, and he, being somewhat in advance of his master when the pope's foot was graciously put forth, took the liberty of applying thereto not only his nose but his teeth, and pinched the pontifical great toe so smartly, that his holiness lost no time in drawing it from the sacrilegious salute ; and while the ambassadors smiled in their sleeves at the incident, he tacitly dispensed with any further ceremony of that sort, and gave ear at once to their message. Strange to say, no direct opposition was offered to their plea against his authority for dispensing with the precepts of God's word ; and after divers promises, and frequently appointing days for debating the question, he sent them away complimented and uncontradicted.

The rest returning to England, Cranmer went to the emperor's court to make good his argument, even in presence of queen Katharine's nephew, and succeeded in silencing all his doctors. On his return home, Warham's death left the see of Canterbury vacant; and Henry justly conferred the dignity on the best friend and ablest advocate he had ever found within his realm. In this high pastoral charge, Cranmer so deported himself as to answer St. Paul's description of a bishop; while his fulfilment of the duties annexed to it, as a great office of state, was admirably correct. So forgiving was he, and so careful to return good for evil, that it became a common saying, "Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and you may be sure to have him your friend while he liveth." His personal character was, indeed, most lovely, the qualities of his mind rare, his acquirements singularly great, and his integrity, fidelity, and disinterestedness in the service of his king, such as even the caprice of that suspicious tyrant could never call in question. Indeed the attempts that were frequently made to shake his confidence in Cranmer, only served to show how fixed it was. The Lord doubtless gave him this favor in the king's eyes, that he might the better fulfil his appointed task of building up again the prostrate church of Christ. His opposition to the enactment of the flagitious Six Articles, proved a great trial of Henry's friendship for the archbishop: Stephen Gardiner, his secret and most implacable enemy, continually practised against him; and on one occasion so far prevailed by means of his emissaries who abused the king's ear with tales that Cranmer and his chaplains by their preaching were filling the whole realm with pernicious heresies, that Henry allowed them to commit him to the Tower, and to proceed so far as to make their envious malice fully apparent; but

he had taken care, by privately instructing Cranmer how to proceed, and giving him his ring to produce at the proper moment, to ensure him a triumphant deliverance from their toils. So openly was the shield of royal favor thrown over this upright prelate, that it soon became a hopeless task to assail him : for whosoever slandered the archbishop of Canterbury was sure to receive some of the king's pungent rebukes, accompanied with menaces that no one liked to provoke at the hands of such a monarch. Such was Henry's affection for Cranmer, that he even connived at his living in the state of wedlock, notwithstanding the Six Articles ; and faithfully kept the secret.

When Edward ascended the throne, Cranmer, who had recently been convinced through Ridley's means of the true doctrine of the sacrament, on which he never till then had been rightly persuaded, wrote five books on the subject for public instruction, wherein he overthrows the corporeal presence, transubstantiation, adoration, the receiving of Christ's body by the ungodly, and the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. Stephen Gardiner, then at leisure in the Tower of London, took on himself to answer this publication, to whose sophistical work Cranmer again learnedly and copiously replied. This did not silence Gardiner, who wrote another book, which Cranmer was employed in confuting, during his subsequent imprisonment in Oxford. Ridley also, being deprived of pen, ink and paper, broke a piece of lead from the frame of his prison window, and wrote with it his annotations on the margin of the book, in refutation of its falsehoods.

Cranmer also wrote a work on the Reformation, the catechism of the church of England, and great part of the book of homilies, with other works. His share of the compilation of the common-prayer, with the thirty-

the articles, is well known: and, as under his tuition the character of Edward was formed, so by his influence and direction was the glorious work of the Reformation in England achieved. It was Cranmer who first dared to assert that the bishop of Rome had no authority to set aside God's commandments: it was under Cranmer's guidance that Henry flung from the neck of his country, the yoke of popish supremacy: and it was by Cranmer's hand that God established his pure worship in the place of her ancient idolatrous abominations. Neither was the prosperous course of events in Elizabeth's reign uninfluenced by this extraordinary man: he was the friend and counsellor of her early years; and doubtless was commissioned to sow the seed which yielded such precious fruit to the famished and scattered flock of Christ during her long and glorious sovereignty.

One sore blot is indeed found on the fair page of this record of Cranmer's prosperous days. The manner in which he perverted his power over the youthful mind of Edward, to force upon that gentle king the stain of blood-guiltiness, in the case of the poor foolish Kentish girl, cannot, and ought not to be forgotten. It was a fearful crime, unspeakably aggravated by the degree of light that Cranmer possessed, and the high responsibilities with which he was invested. If none among the pastors of the awakened church soared so high as Cranmer, none fell so low: and the eye that is uplifted to gaze upon the spectacle of this exalted character, can but sink again to earth, under the sad exemplification of that truth, "There is none righteous; no, not one."

In the matter of Mary's succession, the archbishop showed a scrupulous regard to his oath, and a tenderness of conscience that no other of the council displayed. They had all sworn to her title, as rightful heir of the

crown, yet he alone refused subscription to Edward's appointment of the Lady Jane as his successor, and it was not until he had conferred with the lawyers, and received their unanimous assent to the lawfulness of the thing, that, with much reluctance, he at length subscribed: and he alone, of all the nobles, could obtain no pardon of Mary for so doing. She, of course, remembered the part he had taken in forwarding her mother's divorce, and in changing the religion of the realm; and anxiously watched for an opportunity of destroying him. This was soon found. A report being spread abroad that Cranmer, to conciliate the queen, had offered to say a dirge mass for king Edward's soul, he lost no time in writing a full contradiction of the calumny, and left the paper open on the window of his chamber. Story, bishop of Rochester, coming in, read it, and desired a copy, which was given to him; and in a very short time, almost all the scribes in London were occupied in transcribing this bill, which was in great request among the people.

This soon came to the knowledge of the queen's council, who forthwith issued a summons for the archbishop to appear before them, bringing an inventory of all his goods. He did so, and when they had received it, a bishop questioned him as to this bill of his, in which he seemed to be aggrieved with the setting up the mass again; adding, that of course he was sorry that it had gone abroad. Cranmer answered, "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so must I confess here unto you concerning the same bill, that I am sorry the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. Story got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry that it so passed my hands; for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and

ample manner, and minded to have set it on Paul's church-door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto."

The lords, not knowing what to say to this bold avowal, dismissed him, promising he should soon hear further; and so he did; for he was shortly afterwards committed to the Tower on a charge of treason. But as all the rest were pardoned, it would not do to maintain the indictment against him alone, who was known to have subscribed last, and with the greatest repugnance, to Edward's paper: so they dropped the treason, and retained him on a charge of heresy, sending him speedily afterwards to Oxford, to dispute with the divines there, that under some show of fair discussion, the intended murder might be veiled. What occurred there, has already been related. The first condemnation of the three prelates having been invalid, as the pope's authority had not yet been formally recognized again in the land, a new commission was sent from Rome; and Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, had the honor of representing the pope on this occasion, being perched on a scaffold ten feet high, seated in great state just under the little idol wafer which hung in its box over the altar. On his right and left, at a proper distance below the chief actor, sat doctor Martin and doctor Story; and under them a number of officials and others.

All being prepared, the bishops in their pontificals, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for to appear before them. He came from his prison to St. Mary's Church, guarded with bills and other weapons, habited in his gown and hood, and entering their presence, neither moved his cap, nor took any other notice of them, but stood still. One of them then called, "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that shall be

laid to thy charge, that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy ; and make answer here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person." He then advanced, quietly viewing the whole array, until espying where the king's and queen's proctors sat, he bowed his knee to the ground, and putting off his cap, made reverence to each of them : then looking the pope's proxy full in the face, he deliberately put it on again ; showing him no token whatever of recognition or respect. This highly offended the bishop, who said to him that it might well beseem him, weighing the authority that he represented, to do his duty unto him : but Cranmer answered, that he had once taken a solemn oath never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again ; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant, by God's grace, to keep it ; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same : and so he desired the bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt of his person, which he could have been content to have honored as well as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs. This he said modestly and quietly, standing covered, never once bowing or moving so as to betoken any respect for the pope's representative : and this was especially noticed by all the people, who pressed as near as possible to observe his deportment.

Then proceeded bishop Brooks to make an oration, accusing Cranmer of apostasy from the church, treason against the queen, and adultery, in that he had married. He traced his fall to the great sin of schism, in forsaking his allegiance to the pope. God, he said, then forsook him, allowing him to fall "from schism to apostasy, from

apostasy to heresy, from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so in conclusion into the full indignation of our sovereign prince, which you may think a just punishment of God, for your other abominable opinions." The speech was very long, but none of it worth a repetition; and when he sat down Dr. Martin began to plead, in technical phrases, stating to Cranmer that they had reported his case to the pope, who had graciously decreed that though of late time he had excluded both justice and charity, yet his holiness would have both charity and justice shown him; and had therefore appointed the bishop of Gloucester his high commissioner, before whom the archbishop was to answer the articles of accusation; he, Martin, with Dr. Story, attending on behalf of their majesties, to accuse him.

When this speech was ended, the archbishop having leave to reply, first repeated the Lord's prayer, kneeling; then stood up and recited the apostles' creed; and thus spoke, "This I do profess, as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note: I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm." "Take a note thereof," cries Story; while Martin said, "Mark, Mr. Cranmer, how you answer for yourself. You refuse and deny him by whose laws ye do remain in life; being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm." Cranmer protested before God that he was no traitor, adding, he had confessed more at his arraignment than was true. Martin repeated his assertion, and bade him proceed. Cranmer then went on, "I will never consent to the bishop of Rome; for then should I give myself to the devil; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's laws. By the Scripture the king is chief, and needs no foreign person in his own realm."

above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject; I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared of the sword and the keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king; but I say the king hath both." He proceeded in the same concise, pointed, energetic strain to show how contrary the pope's laws are both to the laws of England and of God. He defended the orthodox faith of the sacrament in the same manner, continuing thus, "Christ commanded all to drink of the cup; the pope taketh it away from the laymen, and yet one saith that if Christ had died for the devil that he should drink thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the king; the bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey him: therefore, unless he be antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore, if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ. He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ, 'If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world.' Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so, the bishop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes either by election, by succession, or by inheritance obtain their crown, he saith that they should have it from him. Christ saith that antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth he that advanceth himself above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort besides the pope, then in the meantime let him be antichrist."

"Pleaseth it you to make an end?" interrupted Dr. Story. Cranmer went on: "For he will be the vicar of Christ; he will dispense with the old and new testament also; yea, and with apostasy." He then disavowed all

personal ill-will to the reigning bishop of Rome ; and said he spoke not so for his own defence, but to declare his conscience for the zeal that he bore to God's word, trodden under foot by the bishop of Rome. He quoted our Lord's testimony, as to what would be the lot of his faithful servants in persecuting times ; and set forth again the utter illegality of the pope's interference in this land, requiring the king's and queen's proctors to make known to their majesties what he had said. Then addressing Gloucester in his high place, he went on : " And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured ; for now ye sit judge for the pope, and yet you did not receive your bishopric from the king. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm ; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm." Gloucester retorted : " You were the cause that I did forsake the pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to king Henry the Eighth that he ought to be it ; and this you made me to do." To this Cranmer replied, that the question was settled three quarters of a year before he had the archbishopric, in the time of his predecessor Warham ; so that he had nothing to do with influencing Brooks, who, as a doctor of divinity, had signed his assent to the giving of the supremacy to Henry, along with the other learned divines of Oxford and Cambridge ; " so that here ye have reported to me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done," continued the intrepid metropolitan, still standing erect before them, with his cap on his head.

Gloucester now remarked, " We come to examine you ; and you, methinks, examine us." Then Story commenced an oration, the purport of which was to express his regret that Cranmer had been allowed to talk so much, to rail at him, and to demand that he should

directly be compelled to answer to the articles they were about to lay against him. Martin undertook the office of examiner, whose chief object was to exhibit Cranmer as having been a zealous Romanist in former days, and to implicate him in Henry's proceedings against Lambert. He then assailed the archbishop with some intricate queries respecting the temporal head of the church; but through the unfairness of the scribe who took down the examination, Cranmer's answers are not intelligibly given. Then followed the interrogatories, to the number of sixteen, of the choice style of which the first is a specimen. "That he, the aforesaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the dolphin in Cambridge." He answered, that whether she was called Black or Brown he knew not; but that he married there one Joan, that he granted. All the articles were in the same impertinent and vulgar style; his answers all concise, and confirmatory of his doctrine. The notary having entered them, the judges were about to rise and depart, but Gloucester, seeing the people somewhat moved with the words of the archbishop, pronounced another very long harangue, setting forth the greatness of his heresy and sin; ending in these terms: "Thus much have I said, not for you, Mr. Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and past; but somewhat to satisfy the rude and unlearned people, that they, perceiving your arrogant lying, and lying arrogancy, may the better eschew your detestable and abominable schism." In conclusion, they appointed eight witnesses to depose what they knew against the archbishop, calling on him to say if he had an objection to any one of them. He refused them all, as being perjured men, and

not Christian in their religion ; but this was not regarded. On going out, Cranmer, as before, made low obeisance to the queen's commissioners, Martin and Story, whereat the latter, pointing to the bishop of Gloucester, said that he ought rather to give reverence unto him ; but the archbishop departed without taking any notice of the pope's representative.

After this, he was cited to appear at Rome, within eighty days, and answer for himself ; which he said he would do, if it pleased the king and queen to send him there ; but before the fourth part of that time had expired, their majesties received the pope's command to degrade him. Being also kept in close confinement, with no means of leaving it, he was, of course, prevented from answering the citation, yet his non-appearance at Rome was pronounced contumacious, and for such contempt of the pope's authority, he was condemned to suffer death. Thurlby, bishop of Ely, was chosen to sit on this new commission : he had been the beloved and cherished friend of Cranmer, whose palace had ever been open to him, and whose bounty he had most largely received ; and with him was joined Bonner himself. These two delegates appeared in Oxford on the 14th of February, in Christ's church, sitting in pontifical state, where they opened their commission, setting forth how that the accused had wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence ; on hearing which Cranmer exclaimed, " O Lord, what lies be these ! that I being continually in prison, and never could be suffered to have counsel or advice at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my counsel at Rome ! God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They, however, read to an end, and then proceeded to degrade him. When he was robed and garnished as a priest,

"What!" said he, "I think I shall say mass." "Yea," replied Cosins, "my lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this." "Do you so?" returned Cranmer, "that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it."

Then were added to these garments all manner of robes, of a bishop and archbishop, as he appears at his installation; saving that as everything then is most rich and costly, so on the present occasion, all was formed of canvas and old rags. A mitre and pall of the same materials were then put upon him; and in his hand the crosier staff. Bonner, who of a long time had hated the archbishop, and to whose malignant spirit this spectacle of mockery was a choice regale, now stretched out his hand towards the venerable and dignified object of their antichristian cruelty, and spoke as follows: "This is the man that hath ever despised the pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ, upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself." Here the archbishop interrupted him, saying, that in that he belied him; for if, on the occasion to which he alluded, when a scaffolding was erected for him and some others, to sit in commission in Paul's church, there was any altar under it, he neither knew nor suspected it. But Bonner went on, in his usual strain of low scurrility, reviling him; commencing each sentence with "This is the man;" until every person present was weary and disgusted with his ruffianism. Thurlby repeatedly pulled him by the sleeve to stop him, and afterwards reproached

him with breach of promise; for he had entreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

Bonner having ended his scoffs, they proceeded to the degradation, the first act of which was to take away the crosier; which he held fast, refusing to deliver it up; and following the example of Martin Luther, drew from his sleeve a formal appellation, which he put into their hands, saying, "I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted." He then called on the bystanders to be witnesses that he had so appealed. The bishop of Ely at first refused to receive the paper, saying that their commission was to proceed against him: but when Cranmer reminded him that the matter was immediately between him and the pope, and that no man ought to be a judge in his own cause, Ely took the paper, saying that if it might be admitted it should. He then implored Cranmer to consider his state; and referring to the part he was himself acting, and to the great love and friendship that had been between them, he wept so bitterly that for a long while he could not proceed. After recovering a little composure, he stepped forward, and solemnly declared that if it had not been for the royal commandment, which he could not disobey, no earthly gain should have induced him to have done it: protesting it was the saddest thing that ever happened to him. It is very probable that the brutal conduct of Bonner had roused for the moment some better feeling on the part of his fellow-persecutor. The archbishop kindly comforted his friend with much gentleness; saying he was very well content: so they proceeded in their silly ceremonies. When they attempted to remove the pall, which is the solemn and exclusive vesture of an archbishop, Cranmer asked, "Which of

you hath a pall, to take off my pall?" implying that they, being of an inferior order, could not degrade him. One of them replied, that as bishops they were indeed below his order, and could not do it; but as the pope's delegates, they might take his pall, which they did. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishops scraped the tops of his fingers, where he had been anointed: Bonner indulging his usual savage disposition, by paining him as much as he could; while Ely was soft and gentle as possible. The archbishop, in the midst of their fooleries, remarked, "All this needed not; I had myself done with this gear long ago." They ended by stripping him of his own gown, to his jacket, and putting on him a poor beadle's old thread-bare gown, with a townsman's cap on his head. Then Bonner exultingly cried out, "Now you are no lord any more!" and in his repeated bursts of spite, which continued till they departed, he spoke of him as, "This gentleman here," and so forth.

When the captive was led back to his prison, habited in so unseemly a fashion, every spectator was moved to pity; and an incident occurred which proves to what utter destitution he was reduced. A gentleman of Gloucestershire had taken charge of the archbishop's gown; and now carrying it along, entered into conversation with him, remarking that the bishop of Ely had protested his friendship with tears; to which Cranmer replied, that he might have used a great deal more friendship towards him, and never have been the worse thought on; for he had well deserved it. When they reached the prison the gentleman asked him to drink: he answered, that if he had a piece of salt fish he had better will to eat; for that he had been that day somewhat troubled with that matter, and had eaten but little; "but now that is past,"

added he, "my heart is well quieted." It was a fact that this man, the highest dignitary of the church in England, whose liberality had been renowned through the whole realm, and whose influence was such that not only the gentle Edward but the fierce and untractable Henry could deny him nothing ; this good and venerable archbishop had been so persecuted for Christ's sake, that he had not at his command a single penny wherewith to purchase a morsel to appease his hunger. The gentleman told him he would, with all his heart, give him some money ; but suddenly recollecting the case of a man named Farmer, who had lately been stripped of all his possessions for showing compassion to a prisoner similarly situated, he dared not relieve him in a direct way, but gave money to the bailiffs standing by, and said, if they were good men, they would bestow it on him : and so left him, the archbishop earnestly bidding him farewell, commending himself to his prayers, and those of his friends. That very night was the gentleman arrested by command of Bonner and Ely ; and had not powerful interest been exerted on his behalf, he would have been sent up before the council, to be dealt with as a favorer of heresy.

We now come to the most painful event that has yet been recorded. Cranmer had been the first to move the overthrow of the pope's usurped dominion in England ; he had stood forth as chief standard-bearer throughout the reformation, and had hitherto presented an undaunted front of opposition to the antichristian proceedings of Mary's reign. The fall of such a man from his steadfastness would afford so great a triumph to the enemies of Christ, inflict such a blow upon his cause, and so dishearten its upholders, that all the craft and subtlety of the devil and man was sure to work against him to this end.

He had been in prison now three years, without giving them a hope of turning him away from the truth ; and they pursued the wisest plan in making their last assault on his constancy. They took him from his place of confinement, lodged him in the house of the dean of Christ's church, replenished him with delicate food, induced him to play at bowls, and take his pleasure in walking, and all such indulgences as, after so long endurance of hardship and privation, might assist the flesh in its war against the spirit. What arguments they used, or how they beguiled him, it is bootless to inquire : they succeeded ; and the paper of recantation which he signed and ratified was so full and ample as their hearts could desire. In this, he renounces and detests all the errors and heresies of Luther, Zuinglius, and others ; acknowledges the church of Rome as the only true church, and the pope as supreme head, Christ's vicar, to whom all Christian people should be subject. He believes, and worships, in the sacrament, the very body and blood of Jesus Christ : he acknowledges the other *six* sacraments, according to the determination of Rome ; he craves pardon for his past errors, exhorts all whom he has deluded to return to the unity of the church ; and submits himself to the pope, the king and the queen ; ending with a protestation that he has not done this for favor or fear, but willingly, for the discharge of his conscience, and the instruction of others.

Such was the wicked declaration drawn up by his artful deceivers, to which the unhappy archbishop subscribed his name.

"O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself ; but in me is thine help." Many a backsliding child of God has been taught to appropriate those precious words ; and so it was with Cranmer. Marvellous indeed was the Lord's work, displayed in his rescue, and he who had branded

his own forehead with the accursed stamp of apostasy, was yet to wear the crown of martyrdom : a willing, though indeed most guilty victim at the foot of that cross which he had madly strove to cast from him. It pleased the Lord to turn the counsel of those wicked Ahithophels into foolishness ; for, instead of taking the advantage that such a conquest would have afforded them, and setting Cranmer up on high, to be a stumbling-block to others, they determined to revenge on him their old grievances ; and Mary, ever on the alert to shed the blood of her people, without giving the unhappy renegade any notice of her purpose, directed Dr. Cole to go down to Oxford, and preach a funeral sermon preparatory to his burning. After him she sent some noted characters, experienced in the slaughter of Christ's sheep, lord Williams, lord Chandois, sir John Brydges, justice Brown, and others, to guard against any tumult that might arise on the unexpected burning of the archbishop.

The 21st March was the time appointed for this unparalleled piece of treachery, and on the preceding day, Cole visited the unsuspecting victim, who still rested on their positive assurance of sparing his life ; and questioned him as to whether he still abode in the catholic faith ; to which Cranmer replied, that by God's grace he would be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith. On the morrow, Cole came again, and asked him if he had any money ; Cranmer replying that he had none, he gave him fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would ; and exhorting him to constancy in the faith, he departed.

Cranmer now began to suspect the real state of the matter : and was confirmed therein, when a Spanish friar, one of the witnesses to his recantation, came to him, bringing a paper with articles, for him to recite in his open recantation before the people ; earnestly desiring that

he would write them out with his own hand, and put his name to it ; which when he had done, the friar requested another copy, which was to remain with him. Cranmer complied : but resolving how he would now proceed, he secretly put into his bosom his prayer and exhortation written on another paper, which he meant to recite to the people, before he made his last confession of faith ; fearing lest, if they heard the confession first, they would not suffer him to address the people. Soon after nine o'clock, lord Williams and his fellow murderers arrived, and a great multitude of persons assembled, full of expectation ; one party longing to hear the confirmation of Cranmer's apostasy from his own lips ; the other yet trusting that the Lord would recall his wandering sheep, and give him grace to seal the testimony of that doctrine which he above all other men had helped to set forth throughout the land. The greatest excitement prevailed on all sides.

St. Mary's church was the place appointed for Cole's sermon ; before the pulpit was set a stage, or scaffolding, raised half way between the people and the preacher, on which the prisoner was to stand. He had again been sent to Bocardo, and thence he now came in the following order. First the mayor, and the corporation : then Cranmer, led between two friars, mumbling some chant, through the streets, alternately, until they came to the church door, when they began the *Nunc Dimittis*, singing it while they conducted him to the scaffolding, and there left him. The language of old Fox, in describing the scene, is too striking to be altered :—" The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy counsellor, being now in a bare and rag-

ged gown, and ill-favoredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their estate and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honor, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life ; and now presently from such fresh ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparel ? In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole, coming into the pulpit, began his sermon."

This discourse was just what might have been expected from a cunning priest, whose business it was to gloss over a murder. He set about it in so orderly a way, as to prove that he had bestowed no small pains to acquit himself to the queen's satisfaction. After some prefatory apocryphal matter, he turned the story to Cranmer, whom he reproached as having once forsaken the true faith, and mightily promoted heresy through the land. Then, adverting to the justice of God, which was mingled with his mercy, as in the case of David, he blasphemously compared with it the dealings of his sanguinary mistress, who, while pardoning Cranmer, nevertheless judged it fitting to put him to a cruel death. First, as a traitor, who had dissolved the lawful matrimony between her father and mother, besides driving the pope's supremacy out of the land : secondly, that he had been a heretic, from whom, as from a fountain, all the heretical doctrines and schismatical opinions that so many years had prevailed in England did rise and

spring : and further that as the death of the duke of Northumberland had lately made even sir Thomas More, chancellor, who, as Cole said, died for the church, so should there be one who should make even for the death of Fisher, bishop of Rochester ; and because that Ridley, Hooper, Farrar, and Latimer were not equivalent to the said Fisher, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them, to make up an equality ! There were, he added, other weighty causes, moving the queen and council, not meet to be opened to the common people. Then the doctor wound up his monstrous discourse with a significant application to the hearers, reading them a lesson of passive obedience to the queen ; who, if she spared not so notable a person as Cranmer, would much less spare any of them, should they oppose her supreme will. He drew a lamentable picture of Cranmer's present degraded, forlorn and hopeless state, contrasted with what he had been ; and, lastly, bestowed some comfort on the victim, exhorting him to take his death well, reminding him of the thief on the cross, the three Jews in the furnace, St. Andrew and St. Lawrence ; exalting the pains that had been taken for his conversion, rejoicing in their success, and lest he should have any uneasiness about his soul, promising in the name of the priests there present, a multitude of dirges, masses, funerals, and so forth, in all the churches of Oxford for its succor.

It cannot be doubted that the hearing of this infamous effusion inflicted more pain on Cranmer than all the flames ever kindled for God's martyrs could have done. There he stood the very image of sorrow and self-reproach : now lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and again for shame drooping them towards the earth. More than twenty times a fresh gush of tears bespoke

his renewed grief; those who were present testifying that they never saw such weeping in a little child, as in this venerable father of the English church. Well do we know that rivers of tears could not have washed out the sin he had recently committed; but those bursts of sorrow were the overflowings of a heart smitten by the hand of the Lord; and already melted under the sense of the immeasurable love that had, in the blood of Christ, as we most assuredly believe, made him clean from the guilt of his transgression. It was the bitter weeping of Peter, over his treacherous denial of his pardoning Lord.

When Cole had finished his harangue, the people were departing; but he prayed them to wait, to hear from Cranmer's lips the confirmation of what he had stated: then he called on the archbishops to fulfil his promise of addressing them; who, with alacrity, answered, "I will;" and beseeching them to join in asking Almighty God to forgive him, commenced with a most touching prayer, full of the deepest self-abhorrence, confession of iniquity, and fervent entreaties for mercy. He offered it up on his knees with floods of bitter tears, while every one seemed moved to the liveliest compassion. He followed this by a long exhortation, in which he enjoined them, first, to renounce the world and serve God; secondly, that next to God they should obey the king and queen, as being by him appointed to rule over them; thirdly, to live in brotherly love, to do good to all men, and hurt none: fourthly, to wean their hearts from riches, and show much pity on the poor. He then adverted to his own case, with heaven ready to receive him, or hell ready to swallow him up: wherefore he would declare to them his very faith; for it was then no time to dissemble, whatsoever he had said or written in

times past. He rehearsed the apostles' creed, adding, "And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now," he continued, "I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life; that is, the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefor; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

He certainly would not have been allowed to proceed so far, had not astonishment held the hearers mute; so unexpected was this avowal by the deceived and deceitful enemies of Christ. Some presently began to remind him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood; but the rage of the disappointed doctors, who saw so great a trophy wrested from them in the moment of assured victory, was grievous. They could take no re-

venge; he could die but once, and to death he was doomed that day. The utmost stretch of their power could not kill him twice; nor could they hinder that from being a martyrdom, which was likely to have been the disgraceful execution of an apostate. They took the only means left of venting their anger, by bitterly reproaching him with dissimulation: to which he answered, "Ah, my masters, you do not take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity; and never before this time have I dissembled." While he spoke this, all the tears that remained in his body seemed to burst from his eyes. He attempted to say more of the papacy and the sacrament; but they saw the danger, and began to shout and yell; Cole, especially, bawling out with others, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

Then the archbishop, being pulled from the stage, was hurried away to the fire; the friars who had so unwittingly met his case, by chanting over him the song of Simeon, now vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. Cranmer paid no regard to them, addressing all his talk to the people; excepting that to one friar who was very troublesome, he gave advice to go home to his study, and apply diligently to his book; telling him that if he earnestly called upon God, by reading more he would get knowledge.

Thus, coming to the place where the holy bishops and blessed martyrs Ridley and Latimer had given their bodies to the flames five months before, he kneeled down, prayed fervently, but briefly, and then rising, quickly undressed himself to his shirt, which was made long, reaching to his feet: they were bare; and his head so perfectly bald, that when his caps were off, not a single hair appeared upon it. His beard, long and thick, cov-

ered much of his face, adding an appearance of gravity to his venerable countenance that moved all hearts. The Spanish friars, who had chiefly wrought on him to recant, and had been so busy about him since, tried once more to draw him from the faith, but in vain. He gave his hand to some old men standing by, and offered it to a priest named Ely, but he refused, saying it was not lawful to salute a heretic, particularly one who had returned to his erroneous opinions after renouncing them. He regretted having been so familiar with him, and reproved those who gave him their hands.

An iron chain was next put round Cranmer, and, seeing there was no hope of moving him from his steadfast mind, they kindled the fire, which blazed up towards him; and as soon as he saw it rise, he stretched out his arm, put his right hand into the flame, and there held it, unflinching and immovable, except that once he applied it to his face, until in the sight of all men it was consumed before his body was even scorched. When the fire reached him, he stood, as fixed and motionless as the stake to which he was bound, his eyes uplifted to heaven and the words frequently escaping him, "That unworthy right hand!" This he repeated as long as voice was left, intermingling with it the prayer, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" until in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

CHAPTER VIII.

PHILPOT.

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NEXT in order comes one of the most renowned and powerful champions of the faith that the antichristian church had to contend with in Mary's days. This was JOHN PHILPOT, archdeacon of Winchester, who has already appeared in the history, as withstanding the introduction of false doctrine on the queen's accession, when disputing in the convocation-house. He was the son of an honorable house, his father being a knight of Hampshire, and studied at Oxford with distinguished success, being a great proficient in the Hebrew and other tongues, no less than in the liberal arts. He was of a ready wit, singular courage, fervent in spirit, and in religion most zealous; a well-practised divine, by nature plain and honest; far from all flattery, farther still from hypocrisy and dissimulation: and how deeply learned, his enemies could well testify, who, never in argument gained an advantage over him.

On leaving Oxford, Mr. Philpot, desirous of seeing other countries, travelled on the continent: at Padua he was in some danger from a Franciscan friar, who, having conversed with him on the journey, threatened to accuse him of heresy. He returned to England, and becoming bolder as the prosperous times of king Edward gave him more liberty, he held various disputations with Stephen Gardiner, whose successor, Dr. Poiret, appointed him to

the archdeaconry of that see, where, during the rest of Edward's reign, he continued greatly to profit and instruct the people. When that blessed king was taken away, Mary's first step, on ascending the throne, was, as we have seen, to forward her plan of destroying true religion throughout the realm, by assembling a convocation of prelates and learned men. Perfect freedom of speech was granted, with a promise of immunity, but only, as it afterwards appeared, to ascertain who were likely to prove the most able champions of the faith, in order to put them forthwith out of the way by imprisonment and death. They found, in archdeacon Philpot, an unanswerable opponent: he, of course, was immediately charged with heresy, and, on the unalterable principle of popery, that neither promises nor oaths are binding when pledged to those out of her communion, the liberty officially given was set at naught, and he was committed to prison for having dared to give, when called on by authority, a reason for the hope that was in him.

The examinations to which he was brought, all penned by himself, were so numerous and so long, that to give them entire is impossible, and to abridge them is to lose a great deal of valuable matter. Philpot was a man of most unconquerable spirit, shrewd, ready-witted, and so completely master of the controversy, that it is probable they never had so troublesome a subject to deal with. His first examination took place at Newgate, on the 2d October, 1555, before the queen's commissioners, with the infamous Dr. Story at their head. This man, before Philpot was called into their parlor, came out into the hall to view him, where he stood among other victims, and staring at him, insolently remarked that he was fat indeed; to which the archdeacon replied, "If I be fat, and in good liking, Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have

been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner." He then demanded the cause of his imprisonment, and was told that his suspected heresy was the cause; which Story desired him to revoke, adding threats, if he continued obstinate. Being then brought into the inner room, he was taxed with being out of the catholic church, and a disturber of the same. To this he pleaded the liberty of speech granted in the convocation-house, represented his long and unjust confinement, and demanded the privileges of an English subject, to be openly charged if he had transgressed any law of the realm, fairly tried, and either condemned or acquitted. Roper maintained the right of any magistrate to commit a supposed felon on suspicion, and Story taxed him with the crime of heresy, which he denied. Story asserted that he had spoken against the mass: Philpot again insisted on the liberty given by the queen and her council, for every man openly to speak his mind in the convocation. Story told him he should go to Lollards' tower, to be handled like a heretic; to answer to all that he spoke in convocation, and to be judged by Bonner. Philpot refused any authority but that of his own ordinary, the bishop of Winchester, saying that if he chose to take his life away, as he had done his liberty and living, he might. To this Story replied, that the convocation-house, "in which he had spoken words against the blessed mass," was in the bishop of London's diocese; therefore, he should be judged by him. He still protested, but received only taunts, except from one, who besought him to turn, and save his life. After a mild reply, Philpot addressed Story: "And you, master doctor, of old acquaintance in Oxford, I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity." "I tell thee," said Story, "if thou wouldst be a good catholic

man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good ; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar ?” Philpot declined entering on the subject just then, as he came not there to dispute with him, but to answer to any charge lawfully laid against him. Story repeated that he should go to Lollards’ tower ; and he then desired to see their commission, before he submitted to their authority. Roper was willing to show it ; but Story cried, “ Shall we let every vile person see our commission ?” Cholmley would have remanded him to the place whence he came, till they could show him their authority ; but Story savagely said, “ No, let him lie in the meanwhile in the Lollards’ tower ; for I will sweep the King’s bench, and all other prisons also of these heretics ; they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.”

Philpot replied, “ You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure ; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber : wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, whereat master doctor is offended.”

It was finally arranged that he should be taken back by the marshal, to be brought up again on the Thursday after ; and after some more persuasions from the others, and railing from Story, he was led away.

It was, however, three weeks before they again sent for Philpot ; to whom, as he was going, an acquaintance dwelling in Aldgate said, “ God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world ; for Dr. Story said that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you

away." So completely did the lives of the Protestants hang upon the malicious caprice of a single popish prelate! When brought to the commissioners, he was assailed by Cholmley with the promise of great favor and reputation if he would recant, to which he shortly replied, "I shall do, as it becometh a Christian man to do." Story then broke forth, "This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken to my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did; as all the heretics do, when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou, wilt thou recant?" To this railing speech Philpot quietly answered, "I know nothing that I have done that I ought to recant." "Well, then," said Story, "I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the King's bench, and he hath too much favor there; for his keeper said at the door yesterday that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And after bearing this singular testimony to the prisoner's character, Story departed.

The commissioners then proceeded in the usual way, taunting, reviling, and harassing him; setting at naught his protestation at being called to account for what he had spoken under the queen's license, and asking if the queen gave him leave to be a heretic. They denied his right to be considered an archdeacon, saying that a notorious heretic needed not the formality of a deprivation to

displace him: they refused to show him their commission, although Roper wished to do so; and ordered him away to the Lollards' tower. The close of the scene may serve as a specimen of all that passed. On being told by Dr. Cook, that he should go to that noisome cage, he said, "Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser." "Thou art no gentleman," said Cook. "Yes, that I am." "A heretic is no gentleman," proceeded the doctor, "for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions." Philpot answered, "The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my feet, since you do no more esteem it." Story, who had returned, here exclaimed, "What, will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?" Cook observed, "He saith he is a gentleman." Story replied, "A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave, for a heretic is no gentleman." Let the keeper of the Lollards' tower come in, and have him away." The keeper appearing, he added, "Take this man with you to the Lollards' tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house." "Sir," said Philpot, "if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart: you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you." He then appealed to Cholmley, whose bearing had been far more gentle than his fellows; and he, calling him aside, privately declared that he understood neither their laws nor their doings; and wished he could do him good. Philpot then said to them, "I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly

handled than I am at your hands, that without just cause known should thus be entreated." "Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us?" cried Story: "have him hence." Philpot replied, "God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need. 'That ye do, do quickly.'" Story at this exclaimed, "Do ye not hear how he maketh us Judases?" "That is after your own understanding," said Philpot, and was led away.

Such was the treatment experienced at the hands of men calling themselves Christian divines, and just judges, by one whose rank, by birth, education, and church dignity, was fully on a par with the best of them. After he, with four others, had supped at the keeper's house in Paternoster Row, Philpot was called up stairs by a servant of the archdeacon of London, who offered him a bed; for which he expressed his thanks, but said, "It would be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse; wherefore I will begin as I am like to continue, and take such part as my fellows do." They were then conducted to the place called the bishop's coal-house, hard by which, in a small dark house, was exhibited a great pair of stocks, made to confine both feet and hands, as a specimen of what they might further expect. However, Philpot writes, "thanks be to God, we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us have tried them; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. This minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London; whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could

scarce refrain from destroying himself; and never could be at quiet until he had got into the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; the which as soon as he had received, he tore it to pieces; after which he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which, when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion; and like a manly bishop buf-feted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard. But now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is to fall into the pains of hell."

On the second evening, Bonner, who saw the importance of gaining over such a man as the archdeacon, sent him a mess of meat and pot of drink, for himself and his companions, protesting that he had no knowledge of Mr. Philpot being kept there, and was very sorry for it. This relief he received very gratefully, giving God thanks for having disposed the bishop to show such charity to poor prisoners, and took it immediately to his fellow captives: as he says, "praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred their adversaries up to help the same in their necessity." The bishop's man then asked the cause of his confinement, saying that his lord wondered why he should be troubled with prisoners of other dioceses than his own. Philpot showed him the matter; and soon after the messenger's departure, he was summoned to the bishop's presence, who received him with every appearance of courtesy and commiseration, saying he had only heard within two hours of his being there. "I pray you," added the bishop, "tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I pro-

mise you, I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would you should think that I was the cause thereof; and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters; and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve." This was a fair specimen of the dragon's bleat, when it served his purpose to speak as a lamb. Throughout the interview, Bonner maintained the same appearance of simplicity, candor, and good-will; most cunningly seeking thereby to draw from Philpot some confirmation of what he had spoken in the discussion, or an admission that he had since maintained the same doctrines: but the prisoner, though returning his civility with all possible gentleness, was too wary to be so entrapped. Thus baffled, the bishop turned to another topic, which is thus related by Philpot. "I marvel," said he, "that you are so merry in prison as ye be, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, rejoicing in your naughtiness. Me thinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry." "My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms; and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that." Bonner answered, "We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, 'Tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis;' but here," says he, "my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing full sorrowful things unto us, threatening fagots and fire. We are, my lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it be-

hoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon says, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, 'If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing.' And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, though we be in misery, do sing." The bishop had no answer to give; so he repeated his fair words, and bidding him good night, ordered that he should go to the cellar and drink a cup of wine. One of the chaplains used this interval to persuade him to recant; but Philpot, having taken the wine, returned to the coal-house, "where," he writes, "I, with my six fellows, do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down."

Not long after, the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester, dining together at the house of the archdeacon of London, they sent for Philpot, and desired to talk with him. Bonner expounded the cause of their summoning him, Bath declared they meant to bring him back to the church, and Worcester said, "Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call upon God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may receive the truth." Philpot, on hearing this, directly fell on his knees, praying aloud in these words, "Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me, most vile sinner in thy sight, the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in anything."

Bonner said, "Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did

not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are very much like unto certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praise unto God before dawning of the day." "My lord," said Philpot, "God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing." "Proceed to that he hath to say," said the bishop of Bath: "he hath prayed I cannot tell for what."

They then questioned him, with the usual view to engage him in some declaration on which to build a charge; but Philpot remained firm in rejecting the jurisdiction of Bonner, and demanding to be sent to his own ordinary. As with Bradford, however, they at last prevailed, insinuating that he had no just ground for differing from them, and attributing to obstinacy and self-will his singularity of opinion, to lead him into a discussion on the assumed authority of the Romish church. Cole offered to prove from Athanasius that in his time a universal council decreed that Rome was in all things to be followed throughout the Christian world: Philpot, after protesting against any other authority than that of the Scriptures, called them to the proof; being assured that no such decree had then passed. The book was brought, and after a long search, wherein Harpsfield helped the perplexed bishops to very little purpose, they hit upon a passage and handed the volume to Philpot, who found that it had no such bearing as they pretended. This he showed; whereupon Bonner exclaimed, "So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatso-

ever authority we bring ; and will never be satisfied." "My lord," said Philpot, "when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose, as I have already proved, I trust you will receive mine answer." Worcester then asserted, "It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics defaced the same." "Let that be proved," said Philpot, "and I have done." "Nay," returned the other, "you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved." This drew from the martyr a well deserved rebuke. "Ah ! my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity and vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come ? And I know if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly : and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me, and many thousand more : and yet I had rather perish at your hands than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog ; with the which I am well contented."

The argument, if such it could be called, when on one side nothing was advanced but assertion wholly devoid of proof, and on the other unanswerable proofs, thrust aside by the opponents, without notice, was continued at great length ; until Cole, seeing how little his party was likely to gain, interposed, saying, "My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter ? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament ; and he, to shift himself of that, brought in another matter." When Worcester

remarked, "It is wonder to see how he standeth with so few against a great multitude," Philpot retorted, "We have almost as many as you; for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France; and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am likely to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France, through persecution, so that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them: and therefore your lordship may be sure the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary!" Worcester jeeringly replied, "They were well occupied to bring you such news; and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew." Philpot meekly replied, "I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship." This led to some exchange of mild language between the bishops and their victim: after which they rose up, consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, wherein he had reason to believe his blood was bought and sold. He was then remanded to his dungeon.

The fifth examination of this constant man was conducted in Bonner's palace, by himself, the bishops of Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, and another; doctors Story, Curtop, Saverson, Pendleton, with various chaplains, gentlemen of the queen's chamber, and others. Bonner began by saying, he had requested them to take some pains with Philpot, as he was to sit in judgment on him on the morrow; at which information the prisoner expressed great gladness, remarking, that speedy trial had before been

falsely promised him; and adding, "I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause as you be to require it." Then followed a brisk argument on the subject of his privilege of speech in the convocation-house; one trying to make out that dissent from popery was treason against the queen; another disputing his title to the liberty granted, because "he had not spoken under reformation, like others, but as earnestly and persuasively as any man could do." At last Rochester asked him if he would stand to what he had there said, and if he thought he had then spoken well or no: to which treacherous question Philpot wisely answered, "My lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me; and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience, of your demands." Then they questioned him of the sacrament, with no better success; he still stood on the point of law, regarding their authority: until Bonner lost all patience, gave him the lie, and called him the veriest beast that ever he heard. To which he answered, "Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me; but what is this to the purpose which your lordship is so earnest in?" Having completely foiled them on the point of civil and ecclesiastical law, he called on them to prove the Romish to be the catholic church. The bishop of St. Asaph declared it most evident that Peter built the catholic church at Rome; that Christ had said to Peter, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I build my church;" and that, as the succession of bishops in the see of Rome could be proved from time to time, as it could of no other place so well, therefore the Romish church was the catholic church of Christ. Philpot told him, that what he would represent as undoubted was most uncertain: what Christ said to Peter proving nothing, unless he would have the rock to

be Rome; "And although," said he, "you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

Being called on to show, if he could, what the word "catholic" signifies, he answered, "Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not, as now-a-days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Augustine defineth the same. 'We judge, as the catholic faith, that which hath been, is, and shall be.' So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is and shall be, then you may count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *κατά*, which signifieth after, or according to, and *ολοῦ*, a sum or principal, or whole. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much as to say, as the first, whole, sound or chiefest faith."

This definition of the word, given by one of the most learned men and soundest divines that the church can boast, deserves attentive consideration. A right understanding of it would tend to check modern Protestants in the misapplication of the term, into which they have been beguiled, through false delicacy to their deluded fellow-creatures; who, taught by their crafty guides, insist on the concession to them of a title which we cannot allow without compromising our conscience and principles. It was a point on which the martyrs were always found ready to yield their lives: nor would they use the

term Roman Catholic, seeing that it implies an admission of the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith, being taught in the church of Rome.

The explanation given by Philpot was, of course, unacceptable to the bishops. Bonner, whose reading was nothing to boast of, asked those around if the passage was really to be found in Augustine, as cited; and Dr. Curtop acknowledged that it was so; and Coventry demanded that the book should be examined: but Bonner, knowing by experience that such references tended to the greater triumph of the Protestants, got angry, declaring he would break all off unless they were quiet. The argument then proceeded at great length; Philpot being enabled to answer every objection, speaking, like Stephen, with a wisdom and spirit which none could gainsay or resist: while on their part some moderation was exhibited, until Dr. Story came in, to whom he spoke on the cruelty of his imprisonment and delay of trial. Story commenced a torrent of the most disgusting language, calling him a beast, fool, ass-head, and beastly heretic, scoffing at his assertion that the word of God was the appointed judge between them. Philpot, however, persisted in maintaining it. "It is the saying of Christ, in St. John, 'The word which I have spoken shall judge in the last day.' If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now. And I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority, unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you." "What!" exclaimed Story, "you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ, at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?" "Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die

for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

The close of this scene exhibits in an awful light the hardened blindness of the wretched persecutor Story, contrasted with the quiet resignation of his victim. It is a solemn thought, that the record remains in that book out of which the dead shall be judged. After much railing, Story said, "Well, sir, you are likely to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had the palsy; as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch." To this horrible avowal Philpot replied, "You have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings." "I tell thee," continued the wretch, "I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way." Then, as he left the room he said to Philpot, "I certify thee that thou mayest thank none other man but me." "I thank you, therefore, with all mine heart," answered the martyr, "and God forgive it you." "What!" cried the other, "dost thou thank me? If I had you in my study half an hour I think I should make you sing another song." "No, Mr. Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now." One by one the persecutors then slunk away,

till Philpot was left alone. When his keeper afterwards was conducting him to his coal-house, they were met by Bonner, who, in the smooth phrase that he generally used towards him, told him to require anything he pleased in his house. Philpot replied, "My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship is, to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest." Writing, a fortnight afterwards, he says, "for all this fair speech, I cannot attain hitherto either fire or candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted among the vilest, that he may, in time of reward, receive exaltation and glory. Therefore, praised be God that hath humbled me, and given me grace to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say, Amen."

The sixth appearance of the archdeacon was before sundry noblemen: the queen's chamberlain, the lords Ferrars, Rich, St. John, Windsor, and Chandois; sir John Bridges, and two others unknown to him, with the indefatigable Bonner and Dr. Chedsey, on the 6th of November. They were seated at a table, before which the prisoner stood; and after a private injunction from Bonner to conduct himself prudently before these lords of her majesty's council, he was openly called on by the bishop to say what he could, that it might appear to them whether he and his brethren had done what they could to win him from his errors. Philpot commenced stating his case; but before he could proceed he was required to say whether Bonner had been the cause of his imprisonment, and whether he had experienced any cruel usage at his hands. He answered both queries in the negative. The subject of his privilege in the convocation-house was then discussed, and got rid of by a miser-

able quibble: nevertheless, they offered to overlook what had there been spoken, providing he would express his regret for it, and acknowledge their idolatrous sacrament, against which Bonner assured them he had uttered many wicked things. He was invited to declare his mind upon it; and when he mentioned that it was a matter of life and death so to do, Rich assured him they would take no advantage of his words. Philpot replied that he did not mistrust them; but there sat one among them, pointing to Bonner, who would lay it to his charge, even to the death. However, he declared himself willing to speak fully, if Bonner did not hinder him; and he having promised not to interrupt, Philpot spoke freely on the two principal points where, as he said, the clergy did then deceive the whole realm: the sacrament, and the assumed catholicity of the Romish church. He ended by offering to stand against the best in the realm, if they would prevail with the queen to give him a public trial; and if they could prove themselves to be the catholic church, he would revoke all his former opinions, and consent to them in all points. Bonner strove repeatedly to interrupt him; but was held to his pledge by the rest, sorely against his will. Rich then compared Philpot to Joan of Kent, who was burned in Edward's days; and Bonner, with a great parade of learning, undertook to prove the insufficiency of Scripture, by defying him to reconcile, by the help of Scripture alone, the two texts, "My Father is greater than I," and "I and my Father are one." This he did beautifully; and after being fully answered in all points where he hoped to perplex this sound divine and truly spiritually-minded Christian, he turned to his fellows, saying, "You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him." Philpot rejoined, "The words that

I have spoken be none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you, or by any other in this realm." Here Philpot, from whose own narrative this is taken, adds, "Wherefore I kneeling down, besought the lords to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful nor desperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be." No reply was given.

The lord Rich asked him if he was of the Philpots of Hampshire; and on his replying that he was, being sir P. Philpot's son, Rich exclaimed, "He is my near kinsman! Wherefore I am the more sorry for him." Philpot thanked him for challenging kindred of a poor prisoner; and he replied, "In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet to do thee good." Sir John Bridges also claimed him as a countryman, wishing him to do well: but all this kindness did not succeed in throwing him from his sure ground, the word of God, to which he continued to appeal, notwithstanding their persuasions to submit to some other umpire. Rich laid hold on this to tax him with refusing to believe the express words of Christ, "This is my body," which he answered by showing the spiritual meaning both of that, and of the text cited by Bonner from John vi., "I am the bread that came down from heaven." When foiled here, Bonner took up other ground, alleging the omnipotency of God, and asserting, "I tell thee that God, by his omnipotency, may make himself this carpet if he will." Phil-

pot proved this to be blasphemy, and maintained his argument, until, appointing Chedsey to carry on the argument, Bonner invited the lords to drink wine with him, and to leave them alone together. Bonner having quitted the room for a short time, Rich requested the other lords to allow the poor prisoner to drink also, for he was thirsty : they assented, and Philpot thus records it, "With that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all : God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed."

Chedsey now began his harangue, prefacing it by a statement that so far from Philpot being wronged, by not being allowed to bring forth his arguments sooner, he had leave to speak in the convocation-house, and being soon answered in what he could say, he fell to weeping for lack of matter : also that he had put forth a book of that disputation, in which there was never a true word. He then promised to show him the truth of transubstantiation, but Philpot, roused by his calumnies, interposed, saying, "It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths as to say that I was answered while I had anything to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is not true. God be praised, there were a good many noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men, that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you have made an unjust report before these honorable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me : for, I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have : but my weeping was as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her. And I foreseeing then the destruction which

you, through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared, would work against the true church of Christ, and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinity more, have felt and shall feel." Here lord Rich persuaded him to be silent; and they proceeded to discuss the sacramental question, on the usual grounds, Philpot admirably maintaining and elucidating the spiritual meaning of the thing, until Bonner returned; who, as usual, interposed, profaning the subject by his gross language, comparing it to a fat capon, and so forth: and then suddenly dissolving the sitting, with an apology for having troubled them so long with such an obstinate man. The lords, however, appeared struck and amazed with what they had heard from this noble champion of the truth, and left him without speaking an uncivil word. A token for good, over which Philpot devoutly prayed on their behalf.

When next he was called to appear before the bishops of London and Rochester, with the chancellor of Lichfield and Dr. Chedsey, Bonner saluted him with, "Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming." Philpot mildly replied, that being a prisoner, and the doors shut on him, he could not come out when he listed; but as soon as the doors were open he came immediately. Bonner then repeating that they sent for him to attend mass, demanded whether he would have done so; he replied, that was another manner of question; whereat the bishop began to rail, telling the chancellor that he was an ignorant fool, who wanted to appear learned, but had nothing to answer

when called on. Again he asked if Philpot would have come to mass : he replied that if his lordship could prove his mass to be the true service of God, to which a Christian man ought to come, he would attend it. After remarking that the king and queen and all the nobility of the realm came to mass, Bonner added, "By my faith thou art too well handled : thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee." He replied, "If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may be it be said I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list." The bishop then protested to the chancellor of Lichfield that he had handled them all most gently ; that he allowed their friends to visit them ; and that a few days before they had mounted the leads with a party of 'prentices, gazing abroad, as though they were at liberty. Philpot replied, that there were no leads to the coal-house, and of 'prentices he knew not one. This vile falsehood exposed, Bonner proceeded, adverting to Gardner's recent death, "Nay, now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more ; yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly unless yon recant." Philpot replied, "My lord, I had not thought I should have been alive now ; neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

The chancellor of Lichfield then besought him not to cast himself wilfully away ; but to be ruled by Bonner and other learned men. He answered, "My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causeth me to do as I do ; and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterwards be cast to damnation. But I am sure it is not my will wherein I stand, but God's

will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure." Bonner, impatient to finish the work, proceeded, *ex officio*, to read some articles that he had framed, insisting on his answer: Philpot at once stated the former objection, as to his not being of that diocese, as the first article declared him to be: nor could all their sophistry bring him to admit the usurped jurisdiction of Bonner; they were therefore obliged to pass on to the second article, which charged him with being out of the catholic faith, and not of the same church as he was baptized in. He replied, I am of the same catholic faith; and of the same catholic church which is of Christ the pillar and establishment of truth." They told him his godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than he now was: "I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ." "How know you that?" "By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith and the limits of the church." "How long has your church stood, pray you?" said Bonner. "Even from the beginning, from Christ, and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors." "He will prove his church to be before Christ," observed the chancellor: Philpot replied, "If I did so, I go not amiss; for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church." To this the chancellor assented. He then offered to prove his church by the boasted rule of theirs: antiquity, universality, and unity; at which Bonner exclaimed, "Do you not see what a bragging, foolish fellow this is? he will seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him." "My lord," said Philpot, "let me have all your ancient

writers, with pen and ink and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

Bonner refused this: and proceeded to adduce a passage from Cyprian, to prove the pope's supremacy; but Philpot showed how grossly they wrested the meaning of these old writers to serve their purpose. One after another, the whole company tried their skill, and were successively put to silence by this acute disputant, whose learning appears to have been most extraordinary. When any passage was cited from one of the so-called fathers, Philpot immediately brought the context, showing the real bearing of the remark. Cyprian, Augustine, Eusebius, Theophylact, with various councils and popes, were brought forward; but of each he was too perfectly master to be blinded or silenced by any of their glosses. At last, after a very long discussion, Chedsey being put down, the chancellor said, "Well, Mr. Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us minister the articles which my lord hath left us unto him. How say you, Mr. Philpot, to these articles? Mr. Johnson, I pray you write his answers." But Philpot replied, "Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop." "Why then," said the disappointed doctor, "let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away." So ended what Philpot called "the seventh part of this tragedy."

Early the next morning, the bishop's man came to summon Philpot to mass; who replied, "My stomach is not very good this morning; you may tell my lord I am sick." However, he got another summons immediately after, from the keeper, who told him he must rise

and go to the bishop. He obeyed ; and as he left the prison, the keeper asked him, " Will ye go to mass ? " Philpot answered, " My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning." When they came to the bishop's hall, he ordered Philpot to answer the articles that his chaplain and registrar were about to read against him ; but he demanded an open judgment before a lawful assembly, saying that he would not answer in corners. " Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough ; thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no ; go thy ways with them, I say." " I go with them at your lordship's pleasure ; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already." Bonner, enraged, exclaimed, " No, wilt thou not, knave ? Have him away, and set him in the stocks. What, foolish knave !" Philpot rejoined, " Indeed, my lord, you handle me, with others, like fools ; and we must be content to be made fools at your hands. Stocks and violence be your bishop-like alms. You go about by force in corners, to oppress, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light ; God shorten your cruel kingdom, for his mercies' sake !" And the martyr thus concludes his record of this day's work : " I was put, by and by, into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer anything for his name's sake ! Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience."

An hour before day-break, on the following morning, the poor prisoner was called on by the keeper to go to the bishop ; but he, suspecting some purpose of secret violence, refused to go. Two of Bonner's men then came, and forcibly led him to the tyrant's presence ; who, after a long fit of railing, told him he was blamed

for suffering such a frantic fellow to dispute openly, seeing that it was his glory so to do: and reported some things said against him by White, bishop of Lincoln; for which Philpot easily accounted by remarking that he, as archdeacon, had formerly excommunicated White for preaching evil doctrine within his jurisdiction; adding, "If Christ, my Master, were called a madman, it is no marvel if ye count me frantic." Bonner then asked him, "Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day, with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me (marry, I am counselled to take heed of thee), to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet, do the best thou canst." "My lord, I cannot deny but there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came to prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should live until I go about to kill you: and I confess by violence your lordship is able to overcome me." After this calm and dignified reply to so preposterous a charge, he was commanded to swear preparatory to giving his answers to the articles; but he stood on his former objection of Bonner not being his ordinary. This enraged the bishop, who, pronouncing himself by his own authority to be Philpot's ordinary, and him of his diocess, seized one of his servants, appointing him notary, and ordering the other prisoners to be fetched, that they might be witnesses against their companion. While he was thus raving, one of the sheriffs of London came in, to whom he made a great complaint against Philpot, in confirma-

tion whereof, he read over a long string of articles containing the most unfounded falsehoods. These the martyr indignantly denounced, saying he might as well charge him with having killed his father: declaring moreover that if he maintained the abominable blasphemies rehearsed by Bonner, he were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and burned a hundred times, if it were possible. Again Bonner ordered him to answer to the articles; again he refused, on the same ground as before; and then the bishop turned to the other sufferers, who had been brought by the keeper at his command, saying, "Come hither, sirs—hold them a book—you shall swear by the contents of that book that you shall, all manner of affections laid apart, say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of, concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man; and take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you: as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors." The prisoners with one consent replied, "My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil; we have been but a while acquainted with him." Philpot remarked, "I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses: for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by law a heretic cannot be a witness." "Yes," said Bonner, "one heretic against another may be well enough. And, Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witness against another." "You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you list!" observed Philpot: while the prisoners firmly answered, "No, my lord." "No, will you not?" cried Bonner; "I will make you swear whether you will or no. I ween they be anabaptists, Mr. Sheriff; they

think it not lawful to swear before a judge." Philpot said, "We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called; as we are not now, but in a blind corner." The bishop went on, "Well, then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves: and I do here in the presence of Mr. Sheriff object the same articles unto you as I have done unto him; and do require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them, when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my registrar, and some of my chaplains." The prisoners again replied, "My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay anything against us, we are here, ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your lordship not to burthen us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

For this, the whole party was forthwith ordered to be placed in the stocks: but at night, through the compassion of his keeper, Philpot was taken out for a time.

On the following Sunday, the bishop visited the coal-house at night, and viewed it, saying he never was there before. Whereby, writes Philpot, a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment, in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was never with them who have been so nigh his nose. After supper, he sent for Philpot, told him that the queen and council blamed him for keeping him so long; that as he injured the other prisoners by strengthening them in their errors, he would separate him from them: and that if he did not conform, he would dispatch him out of hand. Philpot declared his desire to be brought speedily to judgment; and also his willingness to conform to whatever could be proved to be better truth than what he professed. He then addressed the wretched tyrant in these solemn words: "My lord, I will

“speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see, God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: He hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who, by report, died miserably. I envy not your authority you are in; you that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God’s glory, and the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can.” Bonner seemed confounded for a while; then said, “That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper?” Having given his secret directions to the gaoler, they brought Philpot to the private door, leading into the church, where two of the bishop’s men were commanded to accompany him, and see him placed.

They then conducted their patient victim through St. Paul’s, and round to a tower, near Lollards’ tower, and passing through six or seven doors, arrived at his destined lodging through many strait passages, where, as he says, he called to remembrance that strait is the way to heaven. It was a room thirteen feet by eight, almost over what had formerly been his prison, and exposed to the view of the bishop’s household. On his arrival he was strictly searched, and deprived of his pen, ink-horn, girdle and knife. Having a suspicion of what was intended, he had contrived to make away with many a sweet and friendly letter; no doubt to save the writers from being brought into trouble on his account; but the particulars of his last examination he thrust into his hose, whence it fell down his leg, which the keeper feeling,

demanded what it was. He answered, certain letters : and, drawing up the papers, contrived to slip the more important one into another part of his dress, taking out two letters of small moment, which he, to give them an appearance of consequence, began to tear. They were snatched away ; and by this means he secured what he would have been grieved to lose. However, as they left him he heard a suspicion uttered by one, that the writings in his hose were not all delivered up ; whereupon it was resolved to return and search him more closely. He immediately slipped the important papers into a place near his bed, and taking some old letters out of his purse, began tearing and throwing them out at the window ; telling the searchers when they came back and found him so employed, that he had overheard them. This so effectually blinded their eyes that they left him, for which he praised God, since the record of his examinations was likely to be, as indeed it has proved, of great service to the cause of the gospel. To such shifts was this innocent, faithful and persecuted servant of Christ reduced, through the savage and insolent cruelty of men every way his inferiors.

The recorded examinations of this martyr amounted to fourteen, besides private interviews such as have been described, with his wicked tormentor. On the morning after this last outrage, he was brought down to the wardrobe, and kept waiting the whole day. In the afternoon he was called before Bonner, and harassed as usual, in the presence of the bishop of St. David's, Mordaunt, and others ; but as fruitlessly as before. He steadily refused to recognize Bonner's authority over him ; and after receiving the usual portions of bullying abuse and misrepresentation, he was sent back to the coal-house.

The next scene was of a different kind ; Bonner, find-

ing he would neither answer the articles nor listen to the reading of them, began to use persuasions ; on which Philpot resolved to hold out some hope of being prevailed on to recant, to the intent, as he writes it, that he might give him and his hypocritical generation a further foil : for they dared reason openly with none but such as for lack of learning were unable to answer, or with those of whom they had a hope that the love or fear of the world would induce them to recant. He therefore told Bonner that having openly, in the audience of many, stood to his opinions, and by learning endeavored to defend them, he wished it openly to appear to the world that he was won by learning, lest they should say that from an unworthy motive he was, without any ground, turned from the truth. Bonner expressed great delight, at hearing him speak like a reasonable man ; promised him all possible indulgence and good entertainment in his house ; and finally asked what it was that he would openly, by learning, be somewhat satisfied in ? Philpot replied, that he had said and believed that their sacrifice of the mass was no sacrament : and immediately the bishop, with his chaplains and officials, set about converting him. Harpsfield, Cosins, and others, labored to make good their point ; but were foiled completely. A few concluding passages of this discussion will suffice to show how it went. " I pray you, Mr. Harpsfield," said Philpot, " tell me what this pronoun, *hoc*, doth demonstrate and show, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this is my body ?" Harpsfield replied, " It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priests, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body." " Is the substance of bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body ?" " Yea, that it is." " Why, then," rejoined

Philpot, "Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body ; and that is become his body now which was not before ; and by this you would seem to make that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think." Harpsfield now began to reconsider the matter ; and seeing the consequences of his first assertion retracted it ; saying that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated, or vanished away, by the omnipotency of God. Philpot observed, "This is another song than you sang first : and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves. For indeed your schoolmen do hold that the very substance of bread is really changed into the substance of Christ's body. And now you, perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you ; and all to deface the sincere truth !" "Is not God omnipotent," asked Harpsfield, "and cannot he do as he hath said ?" Philpot replied, "But his omnipotency will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honor. It is not God's honor to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honor for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings away of the bread as you do ; and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it bread many times after the consecration ? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the

sacrament, as, Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this: do ye this in remembrance of me: and to place in their stead, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

Harpsfield could only reply, "I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together, which make for your purpose; I will talk no longer with you." Philpot said, "I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past." To which Harpsfield rejoined, "Ho, keeper, take him away with you!"

The Holy Spirit, who divideth to every man severally as he will, the gifts of grace, seems to have imparted to Philpot a more than common measure of courageous zeal. "To testify the gospel of the grace of God," particularly as opposed to the dark devices of popery, was the object in pursuit of which he not only, like Paul, counted not his life dear unto him, but in the midst of such cruelties as would have broken any spirit not divinely sustained, it was his perpetual study to force or to entrap his adversaries into an argument, where he might expose the rotten foundation of their refuge of lies. Himself an ecclesiastic of high order in the church, he maintained a point of its established law with a cool settled firmness, that set at naught the authority, and baffled all the stratagems of Bonner, who seems to have been sometimes overawed by his dignity, at others frightened by his bursts of righteous indignation. Archdeacon Philpot was evidently a man of fiery temperament, with no small measure of natural wit and humor: but every

high imagination that might have exalted itself against Christ, had been cast down, and the whole man brought into a beautiful subjection to the humbling power of the gospel. He had a singular talent for exposing the ignorance and hypocrisy of his opponents ; or rather of compelling them to expose themselves : patiently resigned to all that could befall his body ; unshrinkingly firm in what concerned his faith ; quick, ardent, energetic, where the honor of God was concerned. It is matter of regret that the limits of our volume forbid the full insertion of what he recorded of his examinations ; for no abstract can do justice to his learning, ability, constancy, and zeal.

On the day following the discussion into which he had led them, for the purpose of putting one of their false doctrines utterly to shame, he was sent for by Bonner, whose disappointment and chagrin at the turn the argument had taken may be imagined. The bishop had his registrar, Chedsey and others assembled ; and upon these he called to bear witness against Philpot ; but in vain, for the prisoner entered as usual his appeal, being of Winchester diocese, out of Bonner's jurisdiction ; and as he knew not who had succeeded Gardiner in that see, he appealed to the archbishop of Canterbury. Bonner being forced to repair to the parliament, a foolish priest claimed kindred with Philpot, wishing by that means to influence him ; and on having his ignorance exposed, went off in a rage, to irritate Bonner further against his victim.

The eleventh examination was conducted under circumstances more favorable to him ; the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bath being present, with Chedsey, Christopherson, Harpsfield, Weston, Morgan, Cosins, and others. He was permitted to speak out, despite

of the railing accusations of London, and was treated by the other bishops with gentleness and courtesy. With Durham and Chichester he argued the point of the catholic church ; until Bonner interrupted, with some foolish charges, which being easily disproved, he went on to accuse Philpot of having killed his own father, and brought down upon himself his mother's dying curse. This, of course, he repelled as a slanderous lie ; while Chichester observed they were matters beside the purpose ; and Durham, in disgust, bade his lordship farewell. Bonner, however, detained him, to hear some important matters, and then produced a letter, substituted by Philpot for a more important paper, when he was searched, and which he tore, the better to mislead the keeper. The bishop had been at the trouble of pasting the fragments together, and now tried to make out a case against the prisoner upon it : but it was overthrown at once, by the very witness whom he produced on his behalf. Then came the story of the pig, and of a bladder of black powder, which proved to be ink-powder, and lastly the old charge of a false report of their proceedings in the convocation-house. Durham would hear no more, but departed, speaking very kindly to Philpot ; Bonner following him, and the bishop of Chichester soon going also, Christopherson took the case in hand, and tried to establish a supremacy of the Romish see, swearing not a little as he went on. When he was silenced, Morgan assailed the martyr with scoffs, mocks, and jeers, until Christopherson had plucked up courage to resume the argument on the subject of the mass. When, however, Philpot proved that the altar, which they conceived to be of lime and stone, signifies the sacrifice on the cross, his opponent could only pray God to bless him out of the company of such an obstinate heretic. Bonner meanwhile had, as he hoped,

discovered a new plot to allege against him ; but this was again overthrown by his own witness : and all departed except Harpsfield, Cosins, and Morgan. The latter seems to have been a genuine ruffian, who, after some taunting sneers at Philpot's church and religion, at length roused the martyr to address him in terms but too well merited by him and his wicked fellows. The occasion was this : Philpot had avowed that his teaching, and that of all who held the truth, came by the Spirit of God. Morgan asked him, "How know you that you have the Spirit of God?" He replied, "By the faith of Christ which is in me." The blasphemer retorted, "Ah, by faith do you so? I ween it be the spirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I ween went drunken unto it." Philpot answered, "It appeareth by your communication that you are better acquainted with the spirit of the buttery than with the Spirit of God ; wherefore I must tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such scorers of his word and blasphemers of his people as thou art." "What, you rage now?" said the scoffer: he replied, "Thy foolish blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God which is in me to speak that which I have said to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness." "Why do you judge me so?" asked the other. "By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blasphemous doctor ; for as it is written, 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' I have spoken on God's behalf ; and now I have done with thee." Morgan resumed, "Why then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art an heretic, and shall be burned for thine

heresies, and afterwards go to hell-fire." The martyr replied, "I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I regard ~~not~~ thy fire and fagots; neither, I thank God my Lord, stand in fear of the same; my faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the hell-fire with which thou threatenest me is thy portion; and is prepared for thee, unless thou speedily repent, and for such hypocrites as thou art." Morgan shamelessly went on: "What! thou speakest upon wine; thou hast tippled well to-day, by likelihood?" "So said the accursed generation, of the apostles, being replenished with the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God: they said they were drunk when they had nothing else to say, as thou doest now."

After some further sneers and reproaches, on the part of the banded persecutors, which moved not the undaunted champion of God's truth, Bonner came in, and asked how they went on; Christopherson said it was folly to reason with him; he was incurable: and being again committed to his keeper, he took an opportunity to request of the bishop the indulgence of candle-light during the long nights, which was insultingly refused, Bonner telling him he could say his *paternoster* without a candle. His parting remark was in reply to Chedsey's question whether he did not think other men had souls to save as well as he. "Every man shall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am you are deceived, and maintain a false religion; and as to my casting away, I would my burning day were to-morrow; for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead." "You are not like to die yet, I can tell you." "I am the more sorry therefor. But the will of God be done of me to his glory. Amen."

After being thus baited, a night's respite was barely allowed the martyr: three of the bishop's chaplains came to him, in the Wardrobe, where he had been early taken

down, with a summons to attend mass : Philpot told them he wondered they were sent on so fruitless an errand, since he, as a man excommunicated, was by their law excluded from hearing mass. To this they replied that the bishop would give him a dispensation : but he again objected that the bishop of London, not being his ordinary, could not do it. This was one of the many childish devices whereby Bonner sought to beguile him into some recognition of an authority without which he could not judiciously proceed against him ; while Philpot's strenuous resistance of his claims arose not from any desire of escaping the flames, but from a determination to compel Bonner to bring him to an open trial before such judges as their wicked laws allowed. After mass, the bishop called him, and having vented his displeasure, as usual, recited the old articles, asking what he had to say that sentence should not be given against him as a heretic. Philpot answered, that to proceed to judgment before witnesses had been examined, was against the law, as all his former proceedings had been. After some more vain efforts to entangle him, Bonner ordered him away : but he was presently called back, in the presence of the bishops of Worcester and Bangor, before whom Bonner told him that they were sent from the synod to offer him grace, if he would at once turn to the church of Rome, and become conformable : if not, his time drew near to an end. The two others also exhorted him, Bangor commending his own example, as having dissembled during Edward's days, and again avowed himself a Romanist, when the times changed. Both were answered, respectfully and firmly ; and then Bonner complained to them of his having urged his excommunicate state as an excuse for not coming to mass : comparing him to Latimer, who, he said, hearing the chancellor of Oxford was

coming to his prison to take him to mass, sent him word that he was sick of the plague, and so deluded the chancellor. However, after a little talk, the other bishops seemed to judge somewhat favorably of Philpot, and promised him leave to converse with Chichester, whom he well liked and others of their body. Worcester exhorting him in the mean season to pray to God for grace, he answered, "Prayer is the comfortablest exercise I feel in my trouble, and my conscience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind which cannot be the fruit of heresy."

After dinner they again called him, and had a short debate respecting the catholic church; when they departed, the archdeacon of Oxford, Dr. Chedsey, and many more came in. Wright urged him to become one of the catholic church; he asserted that he already was of the unfeigned catholic church, and would live and die in it: adding, "and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of the same." "What proof would you have?" said Chedsey: "I will prove unto you our church to have its being and foundation by the Scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church; confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors." At this Philpot exclaimed, "Give me your hand, master doctor; prove that, and have with you."

"If I had my books here," said Chedsey, "I would soon prove it. I will go and fetch them." However, he found it not convenient to bring them; so he only produced his book of annotations, and slid from his proposed wide field into a question respecting the real presence. Philpot soon setting him right, in the ordinary plan of misinterpreting or misquoting Augustine, he could only swear at him for a subtle fellow. Philpot, after vindicating his own reading, quietly retorted the charge of

subtlety, observing, "What subtlety is this of you, to say that you will prove your matter of the church even from the beginning, promising to show your books therein; and when it cometh to the showing, you are able to show none; and for want of proof slip into a by matter, yet faint in the proof thereof. Afore God you are bare-faced in your religion." Chedsey answered, "You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no." "Hold that argument fast," said Philpot: "it is the best you have; for you have nothing but violence."

A day or two after this, he was brought before the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Chichester. The latter began, in a mild strain, exhorting him to humility and teachableness; to which Philpot replied, that we must all be taught by God: and he would with humility learn of them who would inform him of his duty by that word. Acknowledging the bishop's superior learning, he yet extolled the simplicity of believing what God's word teacheth. He would, he said, gladly and thankfully hear of his lordship whatever he or any other had been taught by the revelation of God's word. The bishop tried to overthrow this doctrine of divine teaching, asking how we believed the gospel but by the authority of the church. On this point they reasoned for a time, until the archbishop came up, and civilly addressing Philpot, assured him of their willingness to take pains with him, inquiring on what matter he wished to be satisfied. Philpot mentioned the subject they were already on, of the church's authority to declare what was the truth: and York asked for a definition of the church—what it is. Philpot answered, "It is a congregation of people dispersed through the world, agreeing together in the word of God; using the sacra-

ments, and all other things according to the same." The archbishop would not admit this ; but asked if the church was visible or invisible. He replied, " It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only ; the visible consists both of good and bad. " They then entered on the meaning of the word catholic, which Philpot defined, as on a former occasion, while York insisted that it was so called from being universal, received of all nations for the most part. He and Chester brought the succession of bishops in the Romish see as a main argument ; but Philpot said, " I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by : for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church as at Antioch and Jerusalem, and at other places, where the apostles abode, as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops succession of doctrine withal, as Augustine doth, I will grant it to be a good proof of the catholic church ; but a local succession only is nothing available." They asked him if there were two catholic churches : he answered, " No, I know that there is but one catholic church ; but there have been, and be at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ and of his church, which be not so indeed ; as it is written, ' There be they that call themselves apostles, and be not so indeed, but the synagogue of Satan, and liars.' And now it is with us as it was with the two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one suppress her child, and afterward went about to challenge the true mother's child."

This apt illustration was of course unpalatable to the Romish prelates : York reproached him for babbling, and he apologised for any hastiness of speech, but said he wished them to understand all his mind, that they

might satisfy him through better authority. Chichester then asserted, that Ridley, with all his learning, was never able to show succession of bishops in his church; the argument having troubled him greatly. Philpot repelled this, saying, the argument had no force, since he had denied that local succession of bishops in one place was a necessary point; and also reproved him for making Ridley appear so ignorant. They then taunted him with his full assurance of faith; on which he said, with admirable force, "Let him doubt of his faith that listeth; God giveth me always grace to believe that I am sure of true faith and favor in Christ." Bath asked, "How will you be able to answer heretics, but by the determination of the known catholic church?" He replied, "I am able to answer all heretics by the word of God, and convince them by the same." While they were conversing, York found a passage in Augustine, which he considered as conclusive on the authority of his church; but Philpot directly showed that it had no exclusive reference to the see of Rome. They now began to call him names, and received a reproof for their blindness and persecuting spirit: on which Chichester said, "Have we this thank for our good-will, coming to instruct thee?" He answered, "My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause; and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonor of God, and to hypocrisy with you: if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands at the day of judgment. Therefore, know you, ye hypocrites, indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sin, and not I. I regard not, I thank God, all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent!" They then departed.

This was not considered enough for one day: for, before supper, Philpot was called a third time to Bonner, sitting with Harpsfield, Chedsey, and others, who demanded of him once more if he would conform, and received the same reply, that he must prove his church to be catholic. Harpsfield brought out again his four points, antiquity, universality, consent of nations, and succession of bishops; but Philpot claimed them for his own church, denying that they belonged to that of Rome. It ended with the usual declaration that he was irreclaimable; and so they sent him back to his stocks. No more of his examinations were found recorded by himself. Either he was prevented writing, or they were made away with. The account of his last appearance before the commissioners is taken from the bishop's registry; affording, of course, an imperfect statement, such as they thought fit to make; but no other can be found. It was on the thirteenth of December, 1555, that Philpot was brought before Bonner, sitting judicially in the consistory of St. Paul's; who addressed him, stating these three things as being specially laid to his charge: "I. That you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse, and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. II. That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. III. That you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same." Bonner then reminded him how often he had been invited and required to go from his said errors and heresies; giving him once more the offer of pardon and reception into their church; and finally assuring him, that should he remain obstinate, sentence would forthwith be pronounced against him. Philpot replied, under his usual protestation against the bishop's usurped power,

to the first, that he never was out of the catholic church : and as for the sacrifice of the mass, and sacrament of the altar, he never spake against them. So says the register ; and care was taken to make away with any statement of his own to the contrary : but all his examinations, penned by his own hand, show that he constantly spoke against both ; and the sequel of his reply proves that he was not disposed to retract anything : for the report goes on : “ And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come : and in that time I have been many times sworn—as well in the reign of king Henry VIII. as in the reign of good king Edward, his son—against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. Which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep. But if you, or any of the synod, can, by God’s word, persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God’s law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof ye be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you : otherwise, not.”

This being beyond the power of Bonner and his learned doctors, they began to urge him with large promises and bloody threatenings to come to their terms : but his reply was, “ You and all other of your sort are hypocrites ; and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, tyranny, ignorance and idolatry.” He was then dismissed, with an order to be brought up on the 10th of the month for the definitive sentence of condemnation, if he remained in his former constancy.

When the time came, Bonner presided as usual in the seat of Caiaphas-like judgment, assisted by his brethren of Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield. Bonner began, “ My

lords, Stokesley, my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic used to make this prayer, which I will follow,"—then he recited one in Latin, with a loud voice ; on which Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you : for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand." The bishop on this read it in English, and when he came to the concluding word, "to refuse those things that be foes to his name," Philpot exclaimed, "Then they all must turn away from you. You are enemies to that name ; God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand !" He then warned the people, telling them to beware of the bishops and all their doings, which was contrary to the primitive church ; and again addressing Bonner, demanded by what authority he proceeded against him. He replied, "as bishop of London :" and Philpot repeated that he was not his bishop, and moreover that he had appealed from him : asking, "My lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but you must also meddle with other men's sheep ?" Two books, of the civil and the canon law, were delivered to him, that he might there see the proof of the bishop's disputed authority ; but he found none satisfactory ; their law being, as he said, no better than their divinity. He compared them to men dancing in a net, and fancying none could see them. The bishops conferred, and then tried to establish their point, by their own interpretation ; but he still declared it false, as it unquestionably was ; and when the mayor and others came in, Bonner proceeded to rehearse again his prayer, which was the collect for the third Sunday after Easter, then recited the articles against Philpot, and delivered an

exhortation to him, wherein he set forth the enormity of his heresy, and formally invited him to recant, as he must otherwise be at once condemned. Philpot answered him not, but turned to the lord mayor, as bearing the sword, expressing his regret that the authority which had defended the gospel and the truth of God's word, should now be changed, and at the commandment of anti-christ. He then more fully replied to the articles, repeating that he was never out of the Catholic church of Christ, though he was not of the Babylonish church of Rome. As to the mass, he had not spoken against the true sacrifice, but of their private masses, used in corners, which were blasphemy against the true sacrifice, the death of Christ. That the abominable thing which they set upon the altar, was idolatry, which they never could justify by God's word. With respect to his denial of the body and blood of Christ being in the sacrament of the altar, he could not tell what altar they meant, whether the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone : if they meant it of the latter, he denied their Christ, as a rotten (or corruptible) thing. Touching their transubstantiation, he said, he utterly denied it, for it was brought up first by a pope : and as to the synod, gathered together in antichrist's name, let them prove that to be of the catholic church, and he would follow them. He taxed them with being not only idolaters, but traitors ; railing in their pulpits against good kings, as Henry and Edward, who withstood the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, against whom he also had taken an oath, and abusing the mind of their present queen, whose heart, with the king's, he prayed God to turn from their synagogue and church. The bishop of Lichfield then began to extol the true catholic church, set upon a high hill, and to disparage Martin Luther's

church, with that at Geneva. A long disputation ensued, which is not related; but when Bonner found it going against his friends, he interposed with an argument worthy of himself. He produced a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and, showing them to the lord mayor, said, "My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so it was sent him being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or to drink, which powder was only to make him ink to write withal. For when his keeper did perceive it, he took it, and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is." When he had finished, the martyr said, "Ah, my lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal, but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be a catholic church?"

Bonner then brought forth his other grievances; a copy of the articles of religion agreed upon at the universities, to which Philpot was a party: two printed books, one the catechism set forth in king Edward's days, the other the report of what passed in the convocation-house, so often referred to. To these were added some of the papers that Philpot designedly allowed his keeper to seize; but which contained no matter of accusation, and out of all these he strove to strengthen his miserable case against the faithful witness for God's truth. Growing weary, at length, he cut all short, just repeating the

stale offer of pardon at the price of his soul, and then going on to read the final sentence. When he came to the words, that described the victim as an obstinate, pertinacious, impenitent heretic, Philpot exclaimed, "I thank God that I am a heretic out of your accursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings; and let all men beware of your bloody church."

It also appears, that when Bonner was about the middle of the wicked sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, saying, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Bonner replied, "Oh, let him alone;" and so finished reading it, after which he delivered him to the sheriffs, who brought him through the bishop's house to Paternoster-row, where his poor servant seeing him led along, cried out, "Ah, dear master!" "Content thyself," said his master, "I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again." The officers thrusting the man away, proceeded to Newgate with their captive, who said to the people as they went along, "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day!" When they came to the prison, the poor servant pressed forward to enter with his master, but was violently repulsed by the officers, Mr. Philpot endeavoring to reconcile him to it by saying he should speak with him on the morrow: but the under-keeper compassionately gave him permission to enter with him. They were first shown into a small room, until Alexander, the principal gaoler, came to them. He saluted the arch-deacon with, "Ah, hast thou done well to bring thyself hither?" Philpot replied, "Well, I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favor, for you and I have been of old acquaintance." The gaoler said he would show him

favor if he would be ruled by him : and on being asked what he would have him do, he replied, "to recant." "Nay," said Mr. Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken : for it is most certain truth, and in witness thereof I will seal it with my blood." Alexander remarked, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics," and then barbarously commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons to be put upon him as he could support.

The clerk then whispered to Alexander that Mr. Philpot had given his man money : on which the gaoler asked him what sum his master had given him : he said, none. The other threatened to search him ; and he told him he might do so, for his master had only given a token or two for his friends, such as his brothers and sisters. The savage keeper then reproached his victim with being a maintainer of heretics, saying his man should be known well enough : but he mildly answered him, and requested him to allow the irons to be taken off. Alexander said if he would give him his fees, they should be taken off ; if not, he might wear them still ; and named four pounds as the price. "Ah," said Philpot, "I have not so much : I am a poor man and have been long in prison." "What will you give me then ?" asked the harpy. "Sir," he replied, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for ; or else I will lay my gown in gage ; for the time is not long, I am sure, that I shall be with you ; for the bishop said to me that I should be soon dispatched." "What is that to me ?" exclaimed the inhuman gaoler, as he walked away, giving orders to lay him in close confinement ; yet before he was taken down, thus manacled, from the block, the clerk would have a groat as his fee.

Whose heart does not throb with indignation while

perusing this? Yet it was their Master's cup of which His servants thus drank, and highly did they esteem the privilege—sweet to them is the remembrance now of the cross that preceded their crown.

The steward of the house took the fettered captive on his back, and carried him down, his servant knew not where: but Philpot bade him go to the sheriff and tell him how he was used—probably more to relieve the faithful domestic's distress than his own. The man took another witness with him, and went straightway to Mr. Matcham, one of the sheriffs, who no sooner heard how Mr. Philpot was handled, than he took a ring from his finger, and delivered it to the servant's companion, bidding him show it to Alexander, and in his name command him to take off the irons, to treat him kindly, and to restore what he had been deprived of. When the insolent keeper received the message, and saw the ring, he said, "Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him and all such heretics as he is; therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters." However, at ten o'clock at night, he thought fit to go to the dungeon to take off the irons, and to restore again what he had robbed the prisoner of.

Next night, at supper-time, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, bidding Mr. Philpot make him ready, for the following day he should suffer and be burned at a stake with fire. He said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." Then going to his chamber, he poured out his spirit unto the Lord God; giving him most hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth. In the morning the sheriffs came, about eight o'clock, and called for him; and he most joyfully came down to them. His affectionate servant then met him, saying, "Ah, dear master,

farewell;" to whom he said, "Serve God, and he will help thee." As they came up to Smithfield the way was foul, and two officers took him up, to bear him to the stake; on which he merrily said, "What, will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." On first reaching the place, so famous as the altar on which God's dear servants offered their lives, a willing sacrifice to His name and cause, Philpot kneeled down, saying, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield." Coming to the stake he kissed it, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me?" and then meekly he recited the cxvi. and two following Psalms. When he had ended he turned to the officers, asking what they had done for him; and as each told him what had been his portion of the cruel office, he gave them money, according to their services.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to that constant martyr, who in the midst of the burning flames yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, like a lamb giving up his breath, as like a lion he had been bold and courageous in defence of the gospel.

The manner in which his examinations were penned by his own hand, and preserved for the church in spite of the great efforts of his persecutors to hinder it, is extraordinary. It shows that the Lord would neither suffer the words of such a witness to fall to the ground, nor the example of his great patience and steadfastness to be lost to his fellow-Christians. The wretched Bonner lived to see Fox's spirited narrative published, and that record of his atrocious cruelties set up in parish churches beside the Bible, for the public use of the people.

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN BRADFORD.

SCARCELY do the annals of Christ's persecuted church furnish us with an instance of faith working by love, so uniformly, so sweetly, so universally, as we find it manifested among men in that holy and blessed martyr, JOHN BRADFORD. His writings, of which a volume is preserved, breathe so divine a spirit of that wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, and of that tenderness which the Holy Ghost alone can inspire, that it is not possible to read even a few pages without feeling that we sit at the feet of one commissioned of God to instruct, to warn, to build up, and comfort his people.

He was a native of Manchester, carefully educated by his parents, by whose diligent instructions he so well profited, that on entering the service of sir John Harrington, he was both found worthy of his master's fullest confidence, and rendered him important aid, as a secretary and accountant, in the weighty business that devolved on the knight, as treasurer of the royal camps and buildings, at Boulogne, in the reigns of Henry VIII., and of Edward.

Continuing for some years in this station with every prospect of high preferment, if the honors and emoluments of this world had formed the object of pursuit,

Bradford became the subject of a higher and holier calling, which moved him to forsake all for the love of Christ and his gospel. Impelled to seek, by the ministry of the word, the promulgation of those blessed truths which were experimentally known to him, he rendered up a faithful account to his earthly master, and proceeded from the Temple, in London, to the University of Cambridge; where his great natural ability, his diligence in study, and singular advancement in all godly learning, procured for him, at the end of one year, the degree of master of arts. Immediately afterwards the masters and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him a fellowship in their college, where he enjoyed the warm friendship of Martin Bucer, who frequently urged him to employ his talent in preaching; and when Bradford objected that he was too unlearned for that office, Bucer would reply, "If thou hast not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatever the Lord hath committed to thee."

Ridley, then bishop of London, discerning Bradford's worth, called him to the office of a deacon; and Bradford having scruples as to some superstitious customs then still belonging to the order of investment, the good bishop waved them, to avoid offending his conscience, and having ordained him, gave him a prebend in St. Paul's with license to preach. In this office he continued for three years, faithfully and diligently laboring. Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin; sweetly he preached Christ crucified; pithily he impugned heresies and errors; earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young Edward, and Mary's accession to the throne, he ceased not his sacred ministry, until, by a device that would have shamed a tribe of savages, he was cast into prison for an act which deserved at their *hands the most grateful acknowledgment and reward.*

The facts were these :—On a certain occasion, Bourn, afterwards bishop of Bath, when preaching at St. Paul's cross, in praise of popery and disparagement of the Reformation, was assaulted by the people and rescued by the timely help of Rogers and his brother martyr. So strong was the indignation of the people, when they heard an open avowal of popish doctrines from that pulpit, that neither the presence of Bonner nor the authority of the mayor could repress their rage. The preacher was in imminent danger; even a dagger being hurled at him from the crowd; and in alarm he appealed to Bradford, who stood behind, to defend him, and appease the popular excitement. Immediately the good man presented himself; and being greatly endeared to the Londoners by his life and doctrine, during his three years' ministry in that church, they testified their attachment by a great cry of Bradford! Bradford! God save thy life, Bradford! and after gladly listening to his grave exhortation to peace and quietness, they dispersed peaceably to their homes. To so great peril did Bradford expose himself on this occasion, that the dagger thrown at Bourn passed through his sleeve, and was near entering his arm. Afterwards, the popish preacher being still in great fear of the populace, implored Bradford and Rogers not to leave him until he reached the schoolhouse, and was safely sheltered. They assented, Bradford going close behind him, and with his gown shading him from the sight of the people, whose exasperation was still very great, owing to the scandalous terms in which Bourn had railed at the memory of their beloved king Edward. One gentleman exclaimed, as they passed on to the school, "Ah, Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will burn thee. I give thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would, I assure thee, run him through with my sword."

In the afternoon of that day Bradford preached at Bow church, in Cheapside; and though he was privately admonished not to reprove the people, whose indignation was still so great as to render it doubtful if they would bear it even from him, he lectured them very sharply for their seditious misdemeanor, and administered a powerful rebuke. His reward followed shortly, for within three days he was committed to the Tower, to answer for his treasonable conduct at Paul's cross! Here, and in other prisons, he remained from August, 1553, till January, 1555, when he was called to his examination before Stephen Gardiner, and other inquisitors.

During this imprisonment of fifteen months' duration, he wrote the greater number of those beautiful letters and treatises which ought to be in the hands of every Christian. He also preached twice a day constantly, unless hindered by sickness, and frequently administered the sacrament. Through the leniency of his keepers, who were entirely won by his lovely deportment and heavenly conversation, free access was given to as many as his chamber would hold; and if Christ ever had a church upon earth, such church might be found in John Bradford's prison. Preaching, reading and praying were his very life; and he ate but one meal a day, and that a slight one. Often in the midst of dinner, with his hat pulled over his eyes, he would muse within himself till the tears fell plentifully on his trencher. Kneeling was his favorite attitude of study; and to every human being he was gentleness itself. Such confidence had his keeper in the sacredness of his word, that when in the king's bench in Southwark, he could obtain the gaoler's permission to go alone, in the evening, to visit a sick person in London, on simply promising to return the same night; and on no occasion did he fail to be back somewhat before the stipulated hour; to avoid the possibility of being

a minute beyond his time. When Saunders was in the Marshalsea, they frequently met in the rear of their respective prisons, with the sanction of their keepers, who feared not to give them any degree of liberty ; so utterly and evidently incapable were these godly men of taking an advantage of it : and once Bradford had permission to ride into Oxfordshire, to visit a friend there, and was only prevented by illness from so doing.

His prepossessing appearance could not but add to the effect produced by his unblamable conduct, on common observers. He was tall and slender, fair, with a slight glow of color, auburn hair and beard. His liberality was great, freely imparting to his fellow prisoners of what money he had. Once every week he visited the thieves and pickpockets in confinement, exhorting them to improve their present trouble to the amendment of their lives ; and after such discourse relieving their necessities as far as his purse would go. Study was his delight ; the book never left his hand at night till sleep stole over him, and four hours was the time he allowed himself for that refreshment. His recreation was in sober and becoming converse with those who sat at table with him, in which he indulged for a little time after dinner ; then to prayer, and his book again. No hour did he willingly let pass, without some good done, either to his own soul by study, or to others by the pen and exhortation. His life he counted not dear unto him ; and when a friend asked him where he would go, and what he would do, if suit were successfully made to get him set at liberty, Bradford answered as scarcely caring whether it was or no ; but said if he did obtain his freedom he would marry, and remain in England, secretly seeking occasion to teach the people still. The affection which he inspired in others was of the like character with what he felt for them :

and what that was, every page of his exquisite letters testifies.

Such was John Bradford, who on entering into the presence of Mary's blood-stained commissioners, on the 22d of January, 1555, having bent his knee, in acknowledgment of the royal authority under which they sat, stood before them, as guiltless a victim as Adam's corrupt progeny ever furnished to the murderer's knife. Gardiner, the shameless lord chancellor, commenced by attempting to face down with one of his bullying looks, the meek minister of religion: but meek as he truly was, Bradford had learned to give place by subjection, no, not for an hour, to the preachers of a false gospel. Calmly and steadily he met the chancellor's gaze with one equally intent; and saving that once, for a moment, he cast his eyes heavenward, sighing in secret prayer for God's assisting grace, he flinched not from the encounter of looks, until Gardiner, seemingly amazed and perplexed, gave over, and addressed him. Nothing can exceed the graceful dignity of Bradford's conduct, the truth and soberness of his quiet replies, or the force and justness of his reasonings, during the long discussion that ensued. He was never moved to utter a harsh or hasty expression, though very ungentle language was indulged in by the examiners, Winchester accusing him of hypocrisy and vain-glory; Southwell calling him an arrogant and stubborn boy; Bonner taxing him as a ringleader of the seditious populace at Paul's cross, and one and all repeatedly giving him the lie. After debating the cause of his imprisonment, which they asserted to have been his seditious conduct, in taking on him to govern and direct the turbulent people, while Bradford proved that he had, at the peril of his own life, protected Bourn from them, Winchester said, "Well, to leave this matter, how

sayest thou now ? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and receive the queen's mercy and pardon ?" Bradford replied, " My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy ; but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from." This was answered by railing speeches and threats, that as he had deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so should he be recompensed. The bishop of Durham then asked him his opinion concerning the communion, to which Bradford made this unexpected answer : " My lord, here I must desire of your lordship and of all your honors a question before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf, within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honors to tell me, whether you ask this question by his authority or no ? If you do, I dare not, or may, answer you anything in his authority which you shall demand of me ; except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

He then, in answer to Bonner's question, stated the six occasions of his taking the oath of abjuration, as a master of arts ; as fellow of a college ; by the visitors, who swore the whole university again whilst he was there ; on entering the ministry ; on accepting a prebend ; and lastly, to king Edward, a short time before his death. Winchester exclaimed, " Tush, Herod's oath a man should make no conscience at." " But, my lord," rejoined Bradford, " these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths ; but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book *De vera Obedientia*." This work of Stephen Gardiner's, written to serve the cause of Henry VIII. in his quarrel with the

pope, was a favorite reference of the martyrs, who often cited it in answer to the charges brought by its apostate author against them. In this instance it silenced him; and then the others commenced a clamorous accusation, that Bradford had done more harm by his letters and exhortations while in prison, than ever he had when abroad by his preaching. Not all their revilings, and angry speeches could ruffle the serenity of Bradford, who simply and solemnly denied having written anything that was false, seditious or contrary to God's truth. Again he was required to accept the queen's mercy; and again he declared his willingness so to do, if consistent with God's mercy, and unaccompanied by any clog upon his conscience. After a great deal of clamor, Winchester uttered a long speech concerning the false doctrine taught to the people in the days of king Edward; ending with an appeal to Bradford, "How sayest thou?"

"My lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion; the which as I then believed, so do I now believe it more than ever I did; and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison."

Winchester muttering another tirade against protestantism, as the sure parent of sedition and treason, Bradford said, "Ah, my lord, that you could enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify!"

"What meanest thou by that?" cried Gardiner. "I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now."

"My lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself."

Again was mercy offered, and again, with the former reservation, accepted : and then Bradford was committed to the custody of the keeper, with a strait charge not to let any man confer with him, save in the keeper's presence, nor to allow of his writing letters, &c. He was taken away, looking cheerful and glad ; and on that day week was brought up with Rogers, whose excommunication having been read, Bradford was called, and addressed by Gardiner in a set speech, showing how he had condemned the queen's pardon, and stiffly maintained the erroneous doctrines taught in Edward's time. Yet, so wonderfully merciful was the queen's highness, they were permitted to offer him her pardon again, on recanting his doctrine ; otherwise he must be committed to the secular power, and burned. Winchester commended to him also the example of Cardmaker, whom he falsely reported as having recanted.

To this Bradford made a beautiful reply, showing that they sat in God's place as judges, and in God's sight also ; warning them against the shedding of innocent blood ; ending thus : at this present, " I stand before you, guilty or guiltless ; then proceed and give sentence accordingly ; if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."

Winchester commended his acknowledging them as sitting in God's stead, in judgment : but remarked that all the rest of his speech, and his gesture, savored of vain-glory and hypocrisy. Adding, that they were not going to shed guiltless blood, having convicted him of seditious and treasonable conduct at Paul's cross, for which he was committed to prison and there had practised to the hurt of the queen's people, by writing letters. And now they were about to demand of him nothing but as concerning his doctrine and religion. After calmly

repeating his vindication, Bradford once more appealed to his oath of abjuration, steadily refusing to answer them, unless they disclaimed sitting there by the pope's authority. Thus led to a great deal of discussion, Bradford maintaining the lawfulness and binding nature of his oath; they, by all manner of subtlety, and jesuitical sophistry, seeking to bring him over to their own principle of contempt for an oath. As private individuals he, however, gave them one or two replies to questions of great moment; as, when Winchester asked, "Is it against God's word that a man should take a king to be the supreme head of the church in this realm?" Bradford made answer, "No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power the sovereignty in all his dominion." Winchester asked, "I pray you where find you that?" "I find it in many places," said Bradford; "but especially in Romans xiii., where Paul writeth, 'Let every soul be subject to the superior power;' but what power? the power verily 'which beareth the sword;' which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power. As Chrysostom fell well noteth upon the same place, which your honor knoweth better than I. He, Chrysostom I mean, there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apostles are obedient to the temporal magistrates."

Here Winchester, finding it convenient to shift his ground a little, began to declaim against Bradford's denial of obedience to the queen, because of his oath:—observing that whereas the queen commanded him to swear to the bishop of Rome, and obey his authority, he refused, lest he should be forsworn: so making the queen no queen. To this Bradford replied, that he denied not obedience to the queen, except on this matter; where he

had been sworn to king Edward *not only concerning his own person, but also concerning his successors*. Therefore, in denying this request of the queen, he denied not her authority, nor became disobedient. Still did they urge, and taunt him with making his oath a cloak for his cowardice ; and a pretext for avoiding to declare his real opinions : until Bradford, touched to the quick at being so taxed with shrinking from the point of that faith which he had taught in his seditious letters, to pervert the people, said, " I have written no seditious letters : I have not perverted the people : but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And when your lordship saith that I dare not answer you,—that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask what you will, and I will plainly make you answer by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth therein. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will ; only sanctify thy name in me, as an instrument of thy grace ; Amen. Now ask what you will, and you will see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer."

Whose veins do not tingle with indignation at this unprincipled, unblushing procedure, by which the honest and devoted servant of God was driven into the snare, openly set for his life ? Having succeeded, they at once asked him concerning the sacrament, and received his distinct assurance that he did not believe that Christ was any otherwise present in it, than to the faith of the receiver : then demanding leave to speak a few words, he thus set before them their sin against him. " I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and of all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril ; but now have you a law to hang up and put to

death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite ; and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith ; no more did the prophets, or apostles." At this, Winchester seemed quite appalled, and began to protest his innocence of such guile ; his too great gentleness, &c., all of which Bonner confirmed. But Bradford adduced their deeds towards him in refutation of their words ; and at this juncture they left him to go to dinner.

Meanwhile, two persons were privately sent, as though they came of their own free motion, and regard for him, persuading him to ask time for consideration, and to request a conference with some learned men. But were rejected by Bradford, who declared he would not give ground for a possible supposition that he was not perfectly settled in the faith wherein he stood, or considered it matter of further investigation. He perceived their crafty intention, which was only to obtain such a pretext for reporting that he meditated a recantation ; and through his firm refusal, the device failed.

When Lawrence Saunders had been excommunicated, in the church of St. Mary Overy, where this scene had taken place, Bradford was once more placed before his persecutors, Winchester repeating the old exhortation to recant : Bradford replied by calmly stating, as before, the facts of his case, declaring that whatever answer he might make should still be by protestation, and saving of his oath against admitting any power or jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome in this realm. Here they burst out, as formerly, against him, Winchester exclaiming that he went about to bring it into the people's heads that they, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and the whole realm, were perjured. After again discussing the obligation of the oath, and many

scoffs had been cast at his conscience, he rebuked them solemnly for their treacherous dealing with him, recounting his service to their preacher at Paul's cross, his hazard in openly reproving the angry people at Bow church, and the ungrateful return made—prison for a year and a half, and now death. At last one came forward to observe that Bradford had formerly served Sir John Harrington; to which Winchester rejoined, "True, and did deceive his master of seven score pounds; and because of this he turned gospeller and preacher, good people (addressing the spectators), and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience!"

At this false and scandalous charge, Bradford exclaimed, "My lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me; because they cannot prove it."

Winchester and the other looked blank at this, and excused themselves, as having only heard such a report: then quickly returned to the matter of heresy. After being put to shame in several false charges, as to letters written by Bradford, which he disproved, they obtained from him another noble and unequivocal declaration of his confirmed and increased attachment to the doctrine set forth in king Edward's days; a plain denial of transubstantiation; an avowal that the wicked do not, in any sense, receive Christ in the sacrament; a demand for general communion in both kinds, as instituted by the Lord; and a beautiful defence of what they ignorantly called his heresy of fatal necessity, because he had remarked that he looked at their hands, for that which God had appointed him.

He was then excommunicated, and after thanking

God on his knees, that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name, and praying for his murderers, that God would give them repentance and better minds, he went back to prison, in charge of the sheriff. Various attempts were made, to induce him to ask a conference, but to no purpose. Bonner, and others, came to argue with him, and found him ready to answer, whenever they desired it : but the cleverest of his opponents was Harpsfield, a noted controversialist ; and as a specimen how poor a figure the best of them made when contending against the truth, we will give, at length, the conversation that passed between them on two succeeding days.

Harpsfield made a long oration, to the effect that all men, even infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as Christians, which every one thinks he shall attain to by his own religion. To this Bradford answered that he spake not far amiss. Harpsfield resumed, " But the way thither is not all alike ; for the infidels by Jupiter, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as know the immortality of the soul."

B. " You speak truly."

H. " Well, then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven."

B. " We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness, ' I am the way.' "

H. " It is true that you say, and false also ; I suppose, that you mean, by Christ, believing in Christ."

B. " I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit, I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved."

H. " No, not all that believe in Christ ; for some shall

say, 'Lord, lord, have we not cast out devils,' &c. But Christ will answer, in the day of judgment, to these, 'Depart from me, I know you not.'"

B. "You must make a difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe : as for example, If one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his sayings ye will not believe him, when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you he can."

H. "Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him ? Where shall we seek to find him."

B. "Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word."

H. "Very good : but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism."

B. "Baptism is the sacrament by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Christ : I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it."

H. "To these we may think perchance that God will show mercy."

B. "Yea, the children whose parents do contemn baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence."

H. "Well, we agree, that by baptism we then are brought and (as a man would say) begotten to Christ. For Christ is our father, and the church, his spouse, is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother ; so all spiritual men have Christ for their father, and the church for their mother : and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so

was the church taken out of Christ's side ; wherout flowed blood for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins."

B. " All this is truly spoken."

H. " Now then, tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always."

B. " Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever."

H. " Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no ?"

B. " It is no otherwise visible than Christ was here on earth ; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that setteth her forth commonly ; and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes as good men put on to see and know Christ, when he walked here on earth : for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone ; as Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look, therefore, how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the church known."

H. " I do not come here to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude ?"

B. " Yes, it is. Howbeit, *Latet anguis in herba*, as the proverb is. For in your question is a subtilty. What visible multitude was there in Elias' time, or when Moses was on the mount, Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf ?"

H. " Ye divert from the matter."

B. " No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well whereabouts you go ; and therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would."

H. " Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a

little I perceive the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word?"

B. "Sir, ye go about the bush; if ye understand preaching for the confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else, if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching."

H. "Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more, hath it not the sacraments administered?"

B. "It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted: but I will put you from your purpose, because I see whereabouts you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate."

This Bradford spoke that the bystanders might perceive why he allowed the validity of baptism, administered in the Romish church, without admitting that church to be the true one."

Harpsfield rejoined, "You go far from the matter and I perceive you have more errors than one."

B. "So you say; but that is not enough till you prove them."

H. "Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the ministration of the sacraments? and yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?"

B. "What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?"

H. I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth."

B. "Well go to: what then?"

H. "It hath also succession of bishops."

And on this he strenuously insisted, as a point most essential to be proved.

B. "You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the new church since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bare rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule among the people."

H. "Indeed, the apostle's office was not the bishop's office, for it was universal, but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as Paul saith, he hath given pastors, prophets, &c., so that I trow it to be proved by the Scriptures the succession of bishops to be an essential point."

B. "The ministry of God's word and ministers be an essential point; but to translate this to the bishops and their succession is a plain subtilty; and, therefore, that it may be plain, I will ask you a question: Tell me whether the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which be called priests?"

H. "No."

B. "Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops: that is, of ministers which can be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it."

H. "I perceive that you are far out of the way; by your doctrine you can never show, in your church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments,—which hath jurisdiction and succession of bish-

ops,—which hath, from time to time, believed, as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do, of your doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the church, and cannot be saved. Perchance ye will bring me downwards, a show to blear people's eyes ; but to go upwards, that you can never do, this is the true trial."

B. "Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures and examples of good men."

H. "Yea."

B. "Well, then, Stephen was accused and condemned, as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church then as they were taken: Stephen for his purgation improveth their accusation ; but how doth he it ;—by going upwards ? No ; but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till Elias' time and the people's captivity ; from whence he maketh a great leap, until the time he was in, which was, I think, upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, hell-hounds, rather than heaven-hounds. On this fact will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours."

H. "Yea, sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you."

To this Bradford began to reply by showing how Stephen's enemies would not believe that he had the Holy Ghost ; and that, therefore, they did against him what is recorded in Scripture : but while he so spoke, Harpsfield rose to depart : the keeper and others who stood by gently entreating Bradford to be guided by what the arch-deacon spoke ; who still maintained that Bradford was out of the church.

B. "Sir, I am certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can show a demonstration of my religion, from time to time, continually."

He then prayed, " God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false teachers and blind guides, through whom, alas ! I fear me much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen."

Then the archdeacon departed, saying that he would come again the next morning. He did so, bringing the other two with him, as before ; and after a few by-words spoken, they sat down. Mr. Archdeacon again began by a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone overnight, and therewith did proceed to prove, upwards, succession of bishops here in England, for eight hundred years : in France, at Lyons, for twelve hundred years : in Spain, at Hispalen, for eight hundred years ; in Italy, at Milan, for twelve hundred years ; laboring by this to prove his church. He used all succession of bishops in the east church, for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation. The exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church ; the interrogation, whether Bradford could show any such succession for the demonstration of his church (for so he called it) which followed. Unto this, his long oration, Bradford made this short answer : " My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer, particularly, your oration. Therefore I will generally do it ; thinking, because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the then church, to have made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have

done as I do : that is, have alleged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men, which perchance were counted for heretics of the church ; which church was not tied to the succession, but to the word of God. And this to think, St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith that as it went in the church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the church after his coming : but then the pillars of the church were persecutors of the church ; therefore the like we must look for now."

H. " I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem of the high priests from Aaron's time."

B. " I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth."

H. " Why, did they not allow Moses's law ?"

B. " Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof, as you do the Bible and Holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done, and do, and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea hourly, and I think my time be but very short : therefore I had need to spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort ; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly : but because I dare not, nor I will not leave

off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will: I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself." And so Bradford began to rise up. Then began Mr. Archdeacon to tell him he was in a very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so settled. "As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well."

B. "I doubt not in this case but that I shall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children."

H. "But what if you be deceived?"

B. "What if you should say the sun did not shine now?" (and the sun did shine through the window where they sat.)

H. "Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

B. "Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant! But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

H. "That ye are not; for you are out of the catholic church."

B. "No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be, a child, and an obedient child of it for ever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue: and further I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the creed, I confess and believe, with that which

you call the holy church ; so that even your church hath taken too much upon her, to excommunicate me for that which, by the testimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free for all, many an hundred year after Christ, to believe or not believe."

H. "What is that?"

B. "Transubstantiation."

H. "Why, ye are not condemned therefor only."

B. "For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body."

H. "You agree not with us in the presence, nor in anything else."

B. "How you believe you know : for my part, I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver."

H. "Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament."

B. "In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it, otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will, by God's grace, believe."

H. "More pity : but a man may easily perceive you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us."

B. "I confess a presence, and a true presence, but to the faith of the receiver."

"What?" said one that stood by, "of Christ's very body, which died for us?"

B. "Yea, even of whole Christ, God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it."

H. "Why, this is nothing else but to exclude the om-

nipotency of God, and all kind of miracle, in the sacrament."

B. "I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather: for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as Judas did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other apostles did."

H. "The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body."

B. "They receive not the body. For Christ's body is no dead carcase: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace, I trow."

H. "Well, you have many errors. You count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass." (Harpfield here quoted a sentence of Ambrose to prove it.)

B. "Why, sir, the mass, as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time. Was not the most part of the canon made since, by Gregory and Scholasticus?"

H. "Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye say) by Gregory: but Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time."

B. "I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's prayer."

H. "You say true: for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass; the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration."

B. "I can away with none of those."

H. "No, I think the same : but yet *Hoc facite*, tell-eth plainly the sacrifice of the church."

B. "You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice. And as for *Hec facite*, it is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, &c."

H. "You speak not learnedly now : for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests."

B. "I think that you speak as you would men should understand it : for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread. For I perceive you order the matter so, as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church."

Harpsfield endeavored to prove elevation by a place of Basilus.

B. "I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation : but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books and all the necessaries for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I, by your leave, must leave off, to prepare for him."

H. "If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways."

B. "Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me ; for death to me shall be life."

Cresswell observed, "It were best for you to desire master archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that

you might have a time to confer." To which Harpsfield rejoined, "I will do the best I can, for I pity his case."

"Sir," said Bradford, "I will not desire anybody to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that anybody should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and therefore to think that I am in error, I think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me so do I of you, that you are far out of the way; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured." And then with many civil words, Harpsfield and his companions departed.

The next who assailed the constancy of this faithful servant of Christ, were the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester. When Bradford refused to be seated in their presence, they also declined to sit; and stood up with him. York said, that of love and charity they came to him; and then asked him, after commending his godly life, How he was certain of salvation, and of his religion? Bradford replied, "By the Scriptures." "Very well said," returned the archbishop: "but how do ye know the word of God and the scriptures, but by the church?" To this question, so nearly touching the very groundwork of popery—her assumed infallibility as the appointed judge and expounder of scripture—Bradford made a beautiful answer. "Indeed, my lord, the church was, and is, a means to bring a man more speedily to know the scriptures and the word of God; as was the woman of Samaria a mean that the Samaritans knew Christ: but as when they had heard him speak, they said, 'Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him;' so, after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures, showed unto us and discerned by the church, we

do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep ; not because the church saith they are the scriptures, but because they be so ; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

When, again, Chichester put the hackneyed question, so often heard in our day, "I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine was, within these four hundred years?" Bradford replied by saying, "I will tell you, my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing—where the church was in Elias' time, when Elias said he was left alone." "That is no answer," observed the bishop ; who was laboring to establish another grand point in the Romish controversy, the continued visibility of the church as a governing body. Bradford remarked, "I am sorry that you say so ; for this will I tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen of you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it."

This drove them to the unscriptural evasion of asserting that the church of Christ was not founded until after our Lord had said that he would build it on the rock ; so excluding all the Old Testament saints. Bradford easily confuted it. When they came to the subject of transubstantiation, Chichester read a passage from Luther's writings, showing how that great reformer had excommunicated Zuinglius for denying the real presence : Bradford answered, "My lord, what Luther writeth, as you much regard not, no more do I, in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Æcolampadius, in this point ; and indeed, to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I

do think that they were, and are God's children, and saints with him." When York adduced, as the ties that held Augustine to the church, "Consent of people and nations, authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, and established with antiquity; and the succession of priests, from Peter's seat until the present bishop; Bradford remarked that if they had been points so strong as the archbishop made them, they might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles: for there was the law and the ceremonies, consented to by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops, from Aaron's time until that present. To this the only reply that the prelates could give was, "In good faith, Mr. Bradford, you make too much of the state of the church before Christ's coming."

Two days after this, came two Spanish friars, one of them the king's confessor, to try their skill against this steadfast upholder of Christ's truth. They introduced themselves with the usual pretence, that he had desired to confer with them; which he denied; but expressed his readiness so to do, if they wished it. A long discourse ensued, in the outset of which they told him he must stand as on neutral ground; and inquire the truth as one who as yet had formed no judgment in the matter; and so he must be ready to receive what God would inspire. Bradford's answer was highly characteristic of him, knowing, as he did, in whom he had believed. "Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertainty; as I thank God, I am certain in that for which I am condemned, I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it, and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his truth; and because it is so certain and true that it may

abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer concerning it with you or any man ; in respect whereof, I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it."

In discussing transubstantiation, the friar demanded of Bradford a full explanation of how Christ could be present to the faith of the receiver, and yet not be corporally there, in the elements. He replied, " As I have no tongue to express it, sir, so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter." " But I can tell all that I believe," said the friar : to which Bradford answered, " You believe not much then. For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express."

Thus, with equal patience, learning, and spirituality, did the blessed martyr meekly instruct them that opposed themselves. After a long argument, the friars got into so great a rage, at the manifest advantage of their opponent, that they went off, without bidding him farewell. Not long after, Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, came to the prison with the same intent ; but with no better success. Pendleton, who recanted when his friend Saunders gave his life for the truth, also visited him ; and much learned controversial discussion ensued in both instances. We leave it, having already given so much, to narrate a very different conversation between the martyr, shortly before his burning, and the Christian servant of a young gentlewoman who had been persecuted almost to death for the cause of the gospel, by her parents. So great was their rage at her constancy, in refusing to attend mass, that her life would not have been spared, had

not the good providence of God delivered her from her father's house; whence she was thrust out with the loss of all her worldly possessions. She sent her faithful servant to Bradford, and how sweetly he received, how richly he returned the consolations tendered to him, may be perceived by their discourse. There is a character of placid gentleness in all Bradford's writings, combined with a firm, unshaken testimony to the truths which he held, that harmonizes most beautifully with what is recorded of his holy and consistent deportment, throughout the trying period of his long persecution.

This servant, says Fox, coming to Mr. Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, "God be thanked for you. How do you do?" Mr. Bradford answered, "Well, I thank God: for as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer: even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be."

S. "Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as methink you be now; God be thanked for it."

B. "Why, I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him whom I have always studied to be withal."

S. "Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory."

B. "Truth it is, for he hath dealt favorably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance."

S. "Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head."

B. "Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer: for I think, verily, God will not have one

of his to escape untouched, if he love him, let them seek what means or ways they can."

S. "Well, sir, there goeth talk of a friar that should preach before the king, and should tell him that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late."

B. "Verily, I had a book within these two days of his writing; and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise; for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named friar Alfonso) and with divers others, and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain."

S. "Sir, father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you."

B. "How doth he, how doth he?"

S. "Well, God be thanked."

B. "I am very glad thereof: for indeed my lord chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but as David saith, God hath disappointed him."

S. "Forsooth, God's name be praised, he is very strong."

B. "And I trust so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just; therefore, let us not be afraid."

S. "My mistress hath her recommended unto you."

B. "How doth she?"

S. "Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment; and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory."

B. "I pray you tell her I read this day a godly history, written by Basilius Magnus, of a virtuous woman, which was a widow, and was named Juleddo. She had

great lands, and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, which for her righteousness and godly living, had great indignation at her ; and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to law with him : and, in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman ? He made answer, and said he might so do : for, saith he, this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings ; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them. Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her, Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them. This godly woman, hearing that, stepped forth to the judge, and said, Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life ? then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends, yea, and farewell life too : and in respect of the true honor of the everliving God, farewell all. And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterwards she suffered most cruel death ; and being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant. For, saith she, ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men : for although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh : so that also, in the case and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong. And thus died she constantly not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history."

S. " That shall I, sir, by God's grace : for she told me that she was with you and Mr. Saunders, and received your gentle counsel."

B. " We never gave her other counsel but the truth, and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our

bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door."

Then answered the maid, and said, "Why, then, I perceive you were afraid."

B. "Ye shall hear how fearful I was : for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went : and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber, and sang, as it was told me, and yet, for all my fearfulness, I heard them not : therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast."

S. "Do you lack anything towards your necessities?"

B. "Nothing but your prayers ; and I trust I have them, and you mine."

S. "I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning."

B. "Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer."

S. Then we let you ; therefore, the living God be with you."

B. "And with you, also, and bless you."

"Amen," said the servant, and left him.

John Bradford was no common character, even among the chosen and sanctified vessels of mercy whose glorious lot it was to suffer bonds, imprisonment, and a frightful death in their Lord's quarrel. Neither were the efforts used to turn him from the faith of an ordinary kind. His great popularity among the Londoners, his perfect innocence of the charge on which he was committed, and which the people themselves could well testify, his great learning, and peculiar sweetness of manners, combined to render him at once the object of especial sympathy to the nation, and a mighty prize to the enemies of the truth, could they by any means have perverted him. With the exception of Winchester and Bonner, all the

prelates seem to have treated him with extraordinary courtesy and respect, and it cannot be doubted that the long interval elapsing between his condemnation and execution was given for the purpose of winning him over. Still so cautious was he, that in no case would he even ask a conference, or permit it to be reported that he had so done : neither would he take, even for argument's sake, the position of a man who acknowledged that he might be in error, and was willing to inquire the truth. That truth he had received, in the love of it ; and how very deeply his whole spirit was imbued with love, is strikingly exemplified not only in his beautiful letters, but also in every work that he has left. One instance may be adduced from his meditation on the tenth commandment, where he takes this singularly grateful view of it. " By reason whereof I have great cause to praise thee, in that I see thee to be so careful over mine estate, my house, my wife, my servants, and the beasts that drudge for my service ; that all men are by thee commanded not once to wish them from me. Thy apostle said well when he taught us, saying, ' Cast all your care upon God, for he careth for you.' It is true, I find it true, thus thou carest for us, and wouldest have us care one for another."

It must not be omitted, that the imprisonment of this holy man proved a signal mercy to bishop Farrar. The constancy of that prelate had so far given way before the importunities of the queen's instruments, that he had consented to receive the sacrament in one kind only, at Easter. It pleased God that on Easter even Bradford was brought to the same prison, and through his earnest exhortations, the bishop was so confirmed in the faith wherein he was before wavering, that he never made any concession, to the moment of his happy martyrdom.

Of the time appointed for his own death, Bradford knew nothing: but it seems that a sort of forewarning was given him, for in the morning of the Saturday preceding it, so early as three o'clock, he awoke his fellow-captive, lying in the same chamber, and told him how much his sleep had been disturbed by dreams of immediate death. His waking thoughts, however, knew no such disquieting; for he appeared remarkably cheerful no less than prayerful that day; and talked much with his companion on death, on the kingdom of heaven, and on the ripeness of national sin. In the afternoon, says Fox, they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost breathless, said, "Oh, master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "to-morrow you must be burned, and your chain is now a-buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it. I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" He then thanked her for her gentleness, went to his chamber, and calling his friend to him, after long secret prayer, delivered to him his writings and other papers, explaining what he wished to have done, in various matters. In the evening, half a dozen other friends came to him, with whom he passed the hours in prayer, and other godly exercise, in a way that surprised them all. This farewell prayer, on leaving the Compter, was remarkable, accompanied with many tears; and deeply affected all the hearers. He then put on a clean shirt, made for his burning, by a good woman named Marlar,

who had been very kind to him ; and, clad in it, he offered such a prayer on the subject of the wedding garment, that some of those present were in great admiration ; insomuch that their eyes were no less occupied in gazing on the blessed martyr, than their ears with listening to his beautiful supplications. The departure from his chamber afforded matter for another prayer : after which he gave money to every officer and servant in the house, earnestly exhorting them to fear and serve God, continually laboring to eschew all manner of evil : and then, turning his face to the wall, he prayed vehemently that his words might not be spoken in vain ; but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. As he passed the court, all the prisoners cried out their farewell to him, with many tears ; the whole household weeping.

It was midnight when they took him to Newgate, in the anxious hope that none would be stirring abroad at that hour ; but a sight of their dear pastor, led to death for Christ's sake, was too precious for the poor bereaved flock, for any circumstance to beguile them of it. Along Cheapside, and all from the Compter to Newgate, multitudes were assembled, who exchanged with him the most loving farewell, with great and lamentable weeping ; while Bradford fervently prayed for them. From some undiscovered source, a rumor got about that Bradford would be burned at four o'clock in the morning, in order to prevent the people from witnessing it : the consequence was, that by that early hour Smithfield was so thronged with the multitude of men and women assembled there, that it was considered almost miraculous how so great a number could have had warning of his death. It was, however, nine o'clock before Bradford was brought from Newgate, near which he espied a friend

whom he loved ; and drawing him towards him, he gave him the velvet cap from his head, his handkerchief, and other things ; and, after a little private talk, bade him farewell. Immediately afterwards, his brother-in-law, Roger Beswick, approached, and took Bradford by the hand ; on which the wretched sheriff Woodroff struck Roger so violently with his staff, that it broke his head, and sent the blood streaming down his shoulders. The sight deeply grieved Bradford, who refrained from talking, probably to save the poor man from further cruelty ; only bidding him commend him to his mother, and the rest of his friends, and to go quickly to a surgeon. To Smithfield the martyr then proceeded, guarded by such a host of armed men, that the like was not seen at any other burning. Not only around the stake, but in every corner of Smithfield, was planted a party of them ; so strong were the guilty fears of the murdering persecutors—so wretchedly ignorant were they of the nature of those weapons which alone their victims would wield ; not carnal, but spiritual ; and mighty through God, as they were soon to find, for the pulling down of their strongholds, though built by Satan himself at the utmost stretch of his diabolical power, skill, and malignity.

It was the privilege of another martyr to glorify God in the very same fire with holy John Bradford. This was a young lamb of the flock, nineteen years of age, named JOHN LEAF. He was born in Yorkshire, and apprenticed to a tallow-chandler in London, committed to prison as a heretic by the alderman of his ward ; and nobly avowing his participation in what they called heresy, before Bonner, when brought to examination. He gave a firm and Christian testimony against their mass, as idolatrous and abominable, showing a most correct understanding of the spiritual nature of the Lord's

supper : he rejected auricular confession, denying that the priest has any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve or remit sin ; and resolutely withstood the repeated efforts of Bonner to remove him from the rock of truth whereon he had securely built his house. When asked, by Bonner, if he had not been Rogers' scholar, he readily admitted it : declaring that he believed in the doctrine of Rogers, and of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, lately burned for the testimony of Christ ; and that he would die in the doctrine which they died for. Bonner still urged him to return to the unity of the church : he replied with great courage and spirit, " My lord, you call mine opinion heresy : it is the true light of the word of God : " again repeating it, and adding that he would never forsake his staid and well-grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. After being condemned, and taken back to prison, Bonner sent him two papers, the one containing his recantation, the other the confessions that he had made ; asking to which he would set his hand. Leaf could not write or read : but when he heard the recantation read, he refused it ; but on hearing his confessions, he liked the paper so well, that directly pricking his hand, he sprinkled the blood over it, and desired the bearer to show the bishop that he had sealed that bill with his blood already.

Such was the worthy fellow-martyr provided for John Bradford. They came together to the stake, and each lying prostrate on his face, on either side, they silently prayed for a while ; till one of the sheriffs said to Bradford, " Arise and make an end ; for the press of the people is great." Immediately they stood on their feet ; and Mr. Bradford taking a fagot in his hand, kissed it, as also the stake. He then requested that his servant

might have his raiment; adding, "I have nothing else to give him; and besides, he is a poor man." The sheriff promised; and Bradford putting it off, went to the stake; where, lifting up his face towards heaven, he uttered a solemn warning: it is recorded for us—may the Lord impress it on our hearts! "OH, ENGLAND, ENGLAND, REPENT THEE OF THY SINS, REPENT THEE OF THY SINS. BEWARE OF IDOLATRY, BEWARE OF FALSE ANTICHRISTS; TAKE HEED THEY DO NOT DECEIVE YOU."

While he was speaking these words, the Romish sheriff, characteristically alarmed at the very voice of warning addressed to a wavering nation, called out to tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "Oh, master sheriff," said the gentle martyr, "I am quiet: God forgive you, master sheriff." One of the officers, making the fire, said to Bradford, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace." Bradford made no answer, but asked all the world forgiveness, forgave all the world, and entreated the people to pray for him. Turning his head to the youth who stood at the stake with him, he said, "Be of good comfort, brother, we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night." His last words, audibly spoken, were uttered while embracing the reeds that lay near him, "Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

And thus, concludes Fox, they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merit of Christ Jesus, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

CHAPTER X.

RICHARD WOODMAN.

How well the good soldiers of Christ endured hardness in these days of the church's great conflict, we have in many instances seen: another follows, inferior to none in the manifestation of such powerful faith, such an earnest contending for the truth, and such a gift of utterance conferred on an unlearned man, brought before rulers for Christ's sake, as God alone can bestow.

RICHARD WOODMAN was an iron-worker, dwelling at Warbleton, in Sussex, and at the time of his apprehension about thirty years of age. The curate of his parish, one Fairbank, had taken a wife, and throughout King Edward's days he preached the true doctrine, greatly persuading the people never to give heed to any other. In the very beginning of Mary's reign he veered about, and taught his flock just the contrary to what he had aforetime proclaimed. Richard Woodman hearing him thus belie the truth, admonished him of his inconstancy, and for so doing was forthwith apprehended, and committed to the King's Bench, where he remained a year and a half. Thence, by Dr. Story, he was transferred to Bonner's coal-house, and kept there a month; after which he underwent twenty-six examinations, and was expecting the stake, when, on the day that the noble

martyr, Philpot, was burned, he, with four others, was suddenly set at liberty. His notice of this is given in language equally severe and just; highly expressive of the indignation and abhorrence excited in the minds of God's people by the murder of that holy man. After saying that Bonner sent for them and discharged them, only requiring them very earnestly to speak well of him, Woodman goes on: "And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful an aid in his master the devil's business: for he had burnt good master Philpot the same morning, with whose blood his heart was so drunken, as I supposed, that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before he promised us we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after he had delivered us he sought for some of us again, yea, and that earnestly. He waxed dry after his great drunkenness, wherefore he is likely to have blood to drink in hell, as he is worthy, if he repent it not with speed. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will!"

Woodman wrote down all his former examinations; but the bishop of Chichester got hold of them, and either concealed or destroyed them. The persecutors then proclaimed that Woodman had recanted; but this he disproved, by going and talking so openly, from parish to parish, and among the principal people too, that it was resolved to apprehend him again immediately. They forged a charge against him of usurping the office of the ministry, in baptizing and marrying persons; from which he so fully cleared himself, that they could not even execute on him the warrants already drawn up. However, they soon issued others, and the queen's chamberlain sent three of his men to take him, while ploughing his

land. These men being friends of Woodman's, he had no suspicion of them, and so was easily arrested; but going home to change his apparel, it occurred to him to demand a sight of their warrant, when they confessed having none with them; and he, pleading the right of an Englishman, refused to go with them unless they produced one. They locked him into his house, and guarded the door, while one went to fetch a warrant; and he, profiting by the opportunity, escaped from the rear of the dwelling.

Of course, a strict search was set on foot, which Woodman eluded by taking up his abode under the trees in a thick plantation, within a bowshot of his own house: here, with his bible, pen, and ink, he contentedly stayed six or seven weeks, his wife daily bringing him food. "I thought myself blessed of God," writes this simple and fervent soul, "that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ." Meanwhile the sea-coast, from Portsmouth to Dover, was guarded, to prevent the poor man's escape; but failing in their search, they gave it over, concluding he had gone abroad: and so he did when they had ceased watching. But such was his longing for his native land, that he says, "I thought every day seven years, or ever I were at home again." So in three weeks he returned; and notwithstanding the eager hunt the enemy set on foot after him, he often abode for a month or five weeks openly in his own house, following his accustomed occupation. His enemies, as he remarks, could lay no hands on him till the hour was fully come. It arrived at last, and by the villany of his own father and brother he was betrayed into their grasp. The occasion was this: Richard Woodman had entrusted property, of the value of fifty pounds a year, to his father and brother, wherewith to pay his

debts, and to maintain his wife and children. They wickedly reported that it was not sufficient for the former purpose, whereas it was more, by two hundred pounds, than all his debts amounted to ; and Woodman, anxious to do justice, applied to them to restore the money and writings, and to come to a settlement with him. A day was appointed, on which a full reckoning should be sent in to him, with the balance ; and to avoid this restitution, the wretched brother went and apprised his enemies, that at such a time they might certainly seize him in his own house. The sheriff accordingly sent a strong party of men, who concealed themselves all night in bushes near the dwelling. A workman in Woodman's employ, and two of his little children, falling in with them, were detained, lest they should give the alarm ; and in the forenoon, while the poor man was reclining on a bed, making shoe-thongs, his little girl, who saw them approaching, ran into the room, crying out, " Mother ! mother ! yonder cometh twenty men !" Woodman started up, and thought to have slipped out of the door, but they were too near, and his wife instantly shut and bolted it, while he did the same by another door. The house was immediately surrounded, the officers calling out to have the doors opened, or they would break in.

Woodman's house had been searched at least twenty times, by night and by day, sometimes with nearly a score of men at once examining it. There was, however, a place which they had never been able to discover, being formed for concealment : into this he went, while his wife, knowing him to be now safe, opened the door, and telling the men he was not there, excused herself for having barred it, on the ground of having often been frightened by the men sent to search, and also supposing that the displeasure against her husband extended to her

and her children. They demanded a candle, saying there were many secret places in the house ; and after a most minute search they gave over, some of the party going down to the church-yard, where they stood talking with the unnatural father of the persecuted man. The conductor of these officers was a next door neighbor and particular friend of Richard Woodman's, who had been persuaded by his wicked brother thus to betray him. He knew of the hiding-place, which his friend had often mentioned to him in confidence ; but it happened that he had never shown him the way to it, only that the entrance was over a window in the hall. On this they renewed the search, and one spied a little loft, with three or four chests in it, between two of which the entrance really lay ; but as they could not discover it, they insisted on his wife pointing it out. She misled them to another quarter, then gave Woodman a token to escape, by which he supposed there was no further hope of his lying concealed. He could not descend into the house without coming into the midst of them ; and his only resource was to break out through a boarding, which he did by setting his shoulders against it ; but unhappily the noise occasioned by this attracted their attention, and caused them to look out at a window, just as he jumped down to escape.

Poor Woodman had not found time to put on his shoes, when the alarm was first given by his child : he had now to run along a lane strewn with sharp cinders, while a shout was raised, and a pursuit commenced, with cries of "Strike him ! strike him !" He looked back and saw only one man within a hundred yards of him ; and had he been shod, he might have got easily away, being strong, swift, and courageous ; but just then his naked foot came upon a hard pointed cinder, and starting from

it, he stepped into a hole full of mire, which threw him down. Before he could recover himself, the pursuer, a very powerful man, came upon him, and he was taken. On this he remarks, "It was not God's will; for if it had been, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them." While they were conducting him to his home, to put on his shoes and complete his dress, one of them scoffingly said, "Now your Master hath deceived you; you said you were an angel; and if so, why did you not flee away from us?" He asked who had ever heard him say he was an angel? "It is not," he added, "the first lie by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never of mortal birth; but if they had said they heard me say I do trust I am a saint, they had not said amiss." "What! do you think to be a saint?" asked the other. "Yea, that I do, and am already in God's sight, I trust in God; for he that is not a saint in God's sight already, is a devil. Therefore, he that thinketh scorn to be a saint, let him be a devil.

At his own door he met his father, who desired him to remember himself; meaning to consider the consequences of persisting in his religious faith; to whom Woodman answered, "I praise God I am well remembered whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but woe to him by whom I am betrayed! It would be good for that man he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The scriptures are now fulfilled on me; 'For the father shall be against the son; and the brother shall deliver the brother to death,' as it is this day come to pass." One of the men remarked that he was a good child to accuse his father: he answered, "I accuse him not, but say my mind; for there was no man knew me to be at home but

my father, my brother, and one more ; the which I dare say would not hurt me for all the good in this town." After some further talk, and cruelly refusing to let him even enter the door of his house, at which he was obliged to put on his shoes and the rest of his clothes, they bound him by putting a hound's slip over his arms : which, he says, rejoiced his heart, that he was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. He then took leave of his poor wife, his children, and his wretched father, and was led away.

On the 12th of April, the sheriffs sent him to London, where, two days after, he was brought before his ordinary, the bishop of Chichester, to whom he had appealed, Story, Cook, and others, for examination. The bishop told him he was sorry for him, and so were all the gentlemen of his country : where he had a good report among rich and poor. Wherefore he wished him to consider himself, his family and friends : not to think himself wiser than all the realm ; but to receive instruction. Woodman disclaimed any wish to seem wiser than others, being willing to learn of any man who could or would teach him the truth. " For my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children are all in God's hands, and I have them all as though I had not, I trust, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all than them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God." He then told Chichester that he had appealed to him, that if any fault was found in him, he might be reformed at his hands : and also, that if his blood was shed unrighteously, it might be required at his hands, who had undertaken to be the physician of that part of the country. On this Story broke in as usual, saying, " Is not this a perverse

fellow, to lay to your charge that his blood shall be required at your hands. Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death unjustly, that thy blood shall be required? No, if he should condemn a hundred such heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good sort of you : and I promise thee I will help to rid thee too, the best that I can." Woodman would have replied ; but Chichester enjoined them both to be silent ; and then kindly addressing Woodman, calling him neighbor, told him that he, as his spiritual pastor, was about to give him spiritual counsel : therefore he must listen to him. Woodman begged first to ask him a question ; which was, whether he was sure that he had the Spirit of God. The bishop said no ; swearing by St. Mary that he dared not be so bold as to say so. Then Woodman told him he was like the waves of the sea, unstable ; and threatened him with the doom of the Laodicean church ; which put Story into a great rage, who stormed at him, saying he had the devil with him, and was mad ; and that he was worse than Satan ; and so forth : while Chichester remarked that the man was sent to him to learn, but took upon him to teach him. The poor fellow, on seeing their blindness, burst into tears and said, " The Jews said to Christ he had a devil, and was mad, as ye have said here by me : but I know the servant is not above his Master. And God forbid that I should learn of him that confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God." " Why," said the bishop, " do you think that you have the Spirit of God ?" " I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God," was the reply. Chichester observed, " You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles ; the which is great presumption." Woodman answered, " I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did ; for he said he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God ; making no

doubts, in 1 Cor. vii." "It is not so," says the bishop; "you belie the text." "If it be not so, let me be burned to-morrow." Story said, "Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow, but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee." Chichester next qualified his denial of the quotation, by saying that if it was so, it was wrong translated; as it was, he said, in a thousand places more. They then consulted the Latin and Greek versions, and told him that in both Paul said he supposed he had the Spirit of God, but was not sure: the bishop adding, "Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but I am not sure."

Woodman said, if men had translated the Bible wrong, wo unto such false translators! However, he warned them to beware that they did not slander the translators, whom he believed to have had the fear of God before their eyes. He offered to prove, by places enough, besides the one quoted, that Paul had the Spirit of God; as he himself, and all the elect, had. This he did by citing, "No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost," and went on: "I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and blood-shedding, as Paul and all the apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do, which no man can do without the Spirit of God; and as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, so there is no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus: for 'He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his,' but is a cast-away. And again: 'We have not received the Spirit of bondage, to fear any one; but we have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spirits that we are the sons of God.' Besides all this, St. John saith, 'He that believeth in God,

dwelleth in God, and God in him.' So it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. Oh, good God! what more injury can be done unto thee than to mistrust that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blindness, and whose servants they be, as they do declare themselves both by their words and deeds."

Here Dr. Story cried out, "Oh my lord, what a heretic is this same! Why do you hear him? Send him to prison to his fellows in the Marshalsea, and they shall be dispatched within these twelve days." "When I heard him say so," writes Woodman, from whose recital of his last examinations this account is taken, "I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind: for I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's coal-house, or to Lollards' tower; but it pleased God to put it in their hearts to send me to the Marshalsea, amongst our brethren, and my old prison fellows, so mercifully hath God dealt with me, in easing me of my burden that I looked for." They observed his satisfaction, and the bishop said, "Methinks he is not afraid of the prison:" to which Woodman replied, "No, I thank the living God." This again roused Story's savage spirit, who said, "This is an heretic indeed: he hath the right terms of all heretics. The living God! I pray you be there dead gods, that you say the living God?" Woodman mildly replied, "Be you angry with me because I speak the words which are written in the Bible?" "Bibble-babble, bibble-babble," quoth the dignified divine. "What speakest thou of the Bible? There is no such word written in all the Bible. "Then I am much to blame if it be not so written," said Woodman, and quoted texts in support of his assertion. Chichester owned it was so

written, and that it was the truth ; but added, that such was the speech of all heretics. He was supported by Story, who sagely said, " My lord, I will tell you how you shall know a heretic by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been ; that is, they will say, ' The Lord,' and ' We praise God,' and ' The living God.' By these words you shall know a heretic." " All these words," returned Woodman, " are written for our learning, and we are commanded of the prophets to use them daily, as thus : ' The Lord's name be praised, from the rising up of the sun even to the going down of the same.' Also : ' As many as fear the Lord say always, the Lord be praised.' " After a little more railing, Dr. Story went off to mass ; and then the bishop said to Woodman, " I would not have you use such speeches as you do, as ' the Lord be praised,' and ' the living God,' with such like words. Can you not say as well, our Lord, or our God, as otherwise ? " Woodman, after declaring that he did not see how he could deserve to be censured for using the plain language of Scripture, added, " It seemeth to me that you mistrust that I believe not as you do." Yea, that is my meaning indeed," said the bishop. " I believe in the living God," repeated Woodman ; " if you do not so, then our belief is not alike, indeed. But if it please you to examine me on any particular matter now, or at any other time, I will make you answer thereto, by God's help." The bishop then charged them with erring from the church, and in proof of it showed him a great bundle of writings, which Woodman immediately saw and acknowledged to be his own, privily stolen from his house by the sheriff's men. They continued his examinations and discussions during his former imprisonment, and he expressed his gladness that the bishop might now see,

under his own hand, a full statement both of what had been said and what had been done against him, referring him to the parties named there for a confirmation of its truth. Then followed a very long conversation, in which the bishop manifested a spirit so different from that of his brethren in general, that if he was sincere in it, his mind must have been ill at ease under the burden of such companionship in evil. Gently, kindly, and candidly he both spoke and listened, as one who was far from desiring to turn away his ears from the truth; and even admitted, with evident satisfaction, Woodman's refutation of all the false charges against him. Having cleared himself, the martyr thus spoke: "Wherefore look ye to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defence against mine enemies; for if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God: wherefore look to it; the matter is weighty; deliver me not into their hands, and look to be so discharged." Chichester told him he was not yet fully invested with the authority of his office, but he would do what he could for him. They then entered on the question, whether or no St. Paul was married, and Woodman proved that he was not: speaking also very fully on the subject, and in a way that seemed greatly to please the bishop, who said he was very glad to have heard him so speak, and repeated warmly his assurance of a sincere wish to serve him. Woodman told him he was willing to renounce anything that he held, which could be proved contrary to God's word. "And the truth is," continued he, "I have talked with a dozen priests at the least, since I was delivered out of prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to

certify me in anything that I have asked them : and therefore they have complained of me to the sheriff and justices, making tales and lies on me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned priests in your diocese as in any one diocese in England, I think : the more it is to be lamented." The bishop's answer was greatly to his credit : " I promise you I do much lament it myself, for I hear say no less ; but it is true as you say. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot : but I will do the best that I can when I come into the country : and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I shall be somewhat better at ease. You see, I am very tender now, as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner : our dinner is ready. I caused you not to tarry for any great cheer that you shall have ; nor would I that you should think I go about to win you with my meat : but you be welcome, with all my heart : come, sit down."

How unlike to Bonner and his brother ruffians ! The Lord gave his poor faithful servant this favor in the sight of one to whom he seemed sent with a message of admonition and instruction. After partaking of a plentiful meal with the bishop, a merchant, and one of the sheriff's officers who guarded him, he was told by the bishop that he must deliver him to Story's man, but that he would soon send for him again, and prayed God he might do good. Woodman begged that he might have nothing to do with Story, requesting the bishop to examine him himself ; and then they began on the subject of the sacraments, when he would acknowledge only two ; and the bishop engaging to convince him by God's word that there were seven, kindly bade him farewell. Thus does the bold and faithful Protestant conclude this part of his narrative : " And so I was brought to the Marshalsea,

where I now am merry—God be praised therefore!—looking for judgment of my flesh, for they intend to dispatch me shortly, if God will give them leave : but God hath their hearts in his hand, and they can do nothing to me but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cause to God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my head perish without my heavenly Father's will, although I bide never so much trouble. Job perished not for all his trouble, though God gave the devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath suffered his members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praise God. They shall as little prevail against my faith, I have no mistrust, as the devil prevailed against Job, whatsoever they do with my goods, body, or life. For he that kept Job in all his trouble neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, but keepeth me and all his elect, that whether we live or die it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will ; and if we die, we die at the Lord's will : so whether we live or die we are the Lord's—blessed be his name therefore ! Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom this my writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you, for they can but kill the body : but fear Him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer, for the sheriff, with divers other gentlemen and priests, when I was at the sheriff's house, said to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times past upon St. Augustine, or St. Ambrose, or such like. Wherefore, said they, look well on it ; you have a great thing to answer for. To the which I answered, I pray God lay nothing more to my charge than he will do for heresy, as I am sure he will not ; for He hath set my

sins as far from me as it is from the east to the west, so that I am sure they shall never come near me any more. Yea, and that they call heresy, we serve God withal. And I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise : and thinking to kill me if they cannot win me, as I trust in God and am sure they shall never, by God's grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times : for I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to loose us asunder, neither for life nor death, I praise my Lord God therefore : and no doubt their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid, which death of my body were best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of other, His name be praised therefor. I know what he can do, but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shall not offend my brethren in receiving of death, but shall be rather an occasion of strengthening their faith, by choosing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the bishop saith he will prove seven sacraments, be you out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already. Thus fare ye well. From the Marshalsea, where I now am, as a sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised therefore."

Of all the English army of martyrs, Richard Woodman seems the most to have resembled Martin Luther in the cast of his natural character, and the peculiarity of

his spiritual gift. This will appear more plainly as we proceed in the story, and find him applying the hammer of God's word to the hardened iron that formed the sinews of his enemies' necks, with as much force and as little ceremony as he was wont to exercise, when working the metal, in the way of his worldly calling. In archdeacon Philpot, this boldness of speech, and energy of thought, appeared under the polish of rank, education, learning, and ecclesiastical dignity; in Woodman it stands forth rough and unmitigated, save by the subduing influence of true piety, which, however, in his case, added emphasis to the impulse of holy indignation, when he looked upon those whose hearts were really, as he had before expressed it, made drunk by the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus; the blood of men by whom he had been taught the way of salvation, whose dungeons he had shared, whose sufferings he had witnessed, and the smoke of whose cruel burning had hardly ceased to darken and infect the air. Strong must have been the power of that grace which withheld from bitter revilings the tongue of one whose natural courage shrunk from nothing; and who was so keenly sensible of the wrongs inflicted on his murdered pastors, the blasphemous dishonor heaped upon the name of his God! Richard Woodman, the humble ironmonger of Sussex, made more than one mitred head cower beneath his righteous rebukes; and forced them to wince under the scornful irony that touched the idolatrous priests of Baal from the inspired lip of Elijah. We do not intend to soften down any part of the recital; but to give it, with as few curtailments as our limits will allow, in the very words of the martyr.

His second examination was in the bishop of Chichester's house, where Story sent him. He returned the

bishop's courteous greeting with the most respectful salutation he could render ; at the same time thanking him for his former kindness : and then Chichester begged he would be brief in his discourse, as the length of their former conversation had impaired his health. The seven sacraments were proposed ; and on Woodman denying five, and requiring the bishop to prove them by scripture, he got into a great fume, swearing in a very coarse and shocking manner ; for which his prisoner reminded him that he was not setting a right example to the flock. Chichester seems to have been exposed to evil influence since their last meeting : for when Woodman justified his rebuke by quoting the command to reprove an offending brother, he and the priests pronounced him past cure ; and the bishop desired Dr. Story to be called, as he would talk no more with him : adding that the company of his fellows in the Marshalsea had made him worse than he was : for before, he had some hope of him. After some more hard speeches, the bishop a little moderated his displeasure, and consented to proceed in the matter of the sacraments. They began with matrimony, where Chichester fortified himself with the word *sacramentum* used in the Latin version ; and Woodman holding to the English rendering, " a great mystery," as typifying the union of Christ with his church, showed, very beautifully, that the " mystery," or unseen thing, was the union of heart, invisible to the eye ; whereas a sacrament was a visible sign. He asked the bishop, " my lord, I pray you what is a sacrament ? " " It is the sign of a holy thing," replied the bishop, who had parried his last argument by insisting that the ceremony being seen, and the man and woman also seen, it was not an invisible mystery.

Woodman, then, on this new ground of the bishop's

choosing, disproved his assertion, saying, "There need not be a sign of a holy thing where the holy thing itself is. Matrimony is a holy thing in itself, and is ended outwardly, and needs no more signs but themselves : wherefore it cannot be a sacrament as others be." To this the bishop returned a singularly ridiculous answer. "Lo, now you speak against yourself ; and for an example, I came by an hosier's, and there hangeth a pair of hose, the which be hose, and be the sign of hose that be to sell within." At this the priests chuckled, and Woodman answered indignantly, he wondered they were not ashamed of themselves. When taunted by the priests for being angry, he replied, "I am not angry, but I am earnest, I tell you, to see your blindness and folly. I talked of the scriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by ; and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hose. And as well can you prove it by that as by God's word." "Why," said a priest, "is there nothing true but what is written in the Bible?" Woodman replied, "St. Paul saith to the Galatians, 'If an angel come from heaven and hold any other doctrine than may be proved by God's word, hold him accursed : ' and so do I tell you plainly." The priest resumed, "Here is a Testament in thy hand ; if I hurl him in the fire and burn him, have I burned God's word or no ? I will buy a new one for sixteenpence." Woodman answered, "I say you have burned God's word ; he that would burn a Testament willingly would burn God himself if he were here, if he could : for he and his word are all one." They made a great jest of this ; and he continued, "Laugh on. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent not with speed." Chichester, to cover the folly of his priests, said, "Who, if my counting-house

were full of books, and if my house were on fire by chance, and so burned, is God's word burned?" "No, my lord, because they were burned against your will; but yet if you should burn them willingly, or think it well, or not be sorry for it, you burn God's word as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a shrewd turn, doth allow it to be good." Chichester remarking that he had little learning, then asked him what St. Paul meant by the passage, "We have an altar whereof you may not eat." He answered, "There is no man so foolish as to eat stones, I trow." This greatly annoyed the bishop, who said it was a plain mock; but Woodman reminded him he had just accused him of having no learning or knowledge, or understanding, wherefore he ought to make things more plain to him, and not ask him such dark questions, and blame him too. The bishop declared the greatest fool in his house would understand his meaning; and calling by his name a servant who stood a little way off, "Come hither, I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?" "Forsooth, my lord, you would not have me eat of this table," answered the man, laying his hand on it. This made all the party laugh, including Woodman, who said, "He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I." "He meaneth well enough," said the bishop, "if you would understand him. Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say thou shalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?" "Forsooth, you would not have me eat this table." At this they laughed again; and the bishop, almost angry, said, "He meaneth that I would not have him eat of the meat that is set upon the table. How sayest thou, dost thou not mean so?" The man replied, "Yes, forsooth, my lord, that was my meaning, indeed:" and Woodman observed he had answered ac-

according to the prompting ; showing that he could have replied to the first question. They then passed on to the sacrament of the altar ; Chichester asking what he said to it. He replied, " You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ ? " " I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say. " " You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not ? " asked Woodman : the bishop answered again, " I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it so strange to you ? "

" It is strange to me, indeed, if you mean the altar of stone, " returned Woodman. " It is that altar that I mean, " said the bishop. Woodman remarked that he understood not the altar so ; and craving permission to show his belief, brought some scriptures to prove that Christ, in the midst of his assembled people, is the true altar, where Christians, at peace with each other and all the world, should come and offer their gift of prayer to God. After hearing him out, Chichester said, " Do you understand the offering and the altar so ? I never heard any man understand it so ; no, not Luther, the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burnt. " To which Woodman shrewdly replied, " If he were an heretic, I think he understood it not so indeed : but I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so. " The bishop maintained his own view ; which was quite a Jewish one ; and when Woodman showed him so, he said, " Who shall be judge betwixt us in this matter ? " Woodman observed, " The twelfth of John declareth who shall be judge in the last day. " " You mean, " said Chichester, " the word shall judge the word. How can that be ? " Woodman replied, " St. Peter saith, the scripture hath no private interpretation ; but one scripture must be understood by another. " He also said, the true church of God is able to discuss all doubts :

to whom I refer it." The bishop, of course, took this as an admission in favor of his false church. Woodman asked what he offered up on his altar? he said, "We offer up in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ to pacify the wrath of God the Father." And at that they all put off their caps in honor of the idol. Woodman proved, from Paul to the Hebrews, that the one offering of Christ was sufficient; and added, "As far as I can see, you be priests after the order of Aaron, that offered up sacrifice for their own sins, and the sins of the people." The bishop said, "No; they were priests after the order of Melchisedec, who offered bread and wine in remembrance, to signify the giving of Christ's body in bread and wine, which he, at the last supper, gave to his disciples, and ordered to be used to the end of the world." Woodman liked this exposition: he said the bishop had made it very plain to him, that as Christ was the end of all sacrifice, so was he the beginning of the sacraments, willing them to be used in remembrance of him to the world's end. The bishop, however, insisted on more than a remembrance: on transubstantiation: but desired him to be brief. Woodman said, "My lord, if you will answer me to one sacrament, I will answer you to another. If you say the words of baptism over the water, and there be no child there, is it true baptism?" "No; there must be the water, the word, and the child; and then it is a baptism." "Very well," rejoined Woodman; "then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son, it is not truly baptized." "No: the child must be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, or else it is not truly baptized." "Then, there may be nothing added or taken away from the sacraments, may there?" "No," said the bishop.

"Now, my lord, I will answer to you, if it please you." "Well," replied the bishop, "how say you? 'Take, eat, this is my body;' is it not Christ's body as soon as the words be said?" "My lord," replied Woodman, "I will answer you by your own words, that you answered me, which is true. The water, the word, and the child, all these together make baptism; the bread, the wine, and the word, make the sacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Christ's body but to the faithful receiver. For he saith, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And St. Augustine saith, 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.' And St. John saith, 'He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:' wherefore it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith." The priest said, "Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you, what did Judas eat?" Woodman replied, "Judas did eat the sacrament of Christ, and the devil withal." "He did eat the body of Christ unworthily, as St. Paul saith," returned the priest. "Nay," said Woodman, "St. Paul sayeth no such thing. He spake not of eating his body unworthily, but of the sacrament unworthily. For he saith, 'Whosoever eateth this bread and drinketh this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body;' and not because he eateth the Lord's body. If Judas did eat Christ's body, it must needs follow that Judas is saved; for Christ saith, in the sixth of John, 'Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.'" On this, the priest and bishop agreed that it was lost labor to talk any more with him: so the latter demanded a final answer as to his belief in the matter,

and received this reply : " I do believe that if I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood-shedding ; and so receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I do believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically, by faith : this is my belief." Chichester observed, " Why, then, it is no body without faith ; God's word is of no force, as you count it." " My lord," he replied, " I have told you my mind without dissimulation ; and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the scriptures ; and if you will not do so, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly, three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay to that I have said, yourself."

At this they began to laugh heartily, saying to one another, " This is an heretic indeed : it is time he were burned." Their ridicule and malignity moved him to a very severe rebuke. " Judge not, lest ye be judged : for as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. For that you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in hell, and shall be compelled to say, for pain, This was the man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honor ; but now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished. These words shall you say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood : wherefore look to it, I give you counsel." The priests taxed him with being angry ; and went on to repeat some words that he had spoken against their idols, and in answer to Stephen Gardiner. He answered, " That I said, I said : and where you said I was angry, I

take God to my record I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God with cheerfulness." The priest mockingly repeated, "The Spirit of God!—hough, hough, hough; think you that you have the Spirit of God?" "I believe surely," answered the martyr, "that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God therefore: and you be deceivers, mockers, and scorners, before God, and be the children of Satan, all the sort of you, as far as I can see. Here Story came in, and after railing as usual, advised the bishop to have nothing more to do with him, and ordered him back to the prison without further question. When they were all gone to receive a party come to dine with the bishop, a priest began to flatter Woodman, urging him to recant; but with no success: and after a few words, he was conducted again to the Marshalsea.

Soon after this, the marshal came to the prison, and questioned Woodman as to his having been abroad speaking seditious words, both of which he so clearly disproved, that the officer owned it must be a false report; and then took him away for another examination, to lord Montague's house, in Southwark, where Dr. Langdale, the bishop's chaplain, was waiting for him. A very long conversation ensued; which Langdale began, by charging him with forsaking the faith of his fathers; and so forth. Woodman answered wisely and scripturally, and the doctor, after blaming him for quoting the Bible too much, tried by the assurance of much good will to induce him to speak his mind freely. The martyr, in a strain of admirable prudence, mingled with his natural frankness, told him that he knew not how to trust his fair words, when he could not trust his own father and brother, and others who had been his familiar friends: that Christ had bade him be wise as the serpent, and as in-

nocent as the dove, and also to take heed of men, for they would betray. He added, that the doctor's dislike to his quoting scripture made him suspect him : therefore he must not be angry if he found him circumspect in his answers : for, said he, " It shall not be said, by God's help, that I run wilfully into mine enemies' hands ; and yet, I praise God, my life is not dear unto myself ; but it is dear with God : wherefore I will do to the uttermost that I can to keep it." Langdale then made a misstatement of what had taken place before Woodman's last apprehension, which he very calmly and soberly answered, fully showing in what he had been wrongfully charged. He was next taxed with baptizing his child, and in the same breath, with leaving it unbaptized. Woodman indignantly proved the utter falsehood of both these contradictory tales : and referring to some part of Langdale's speech, where he had mentioned that if the child had died before baptism it must have been eternally lost, he asked him, " How think you ? Be all condemned that receive not the outward sign of baptism ?" " Yea," said the doctor, " that they be." Woodman asked, " How prove you that ?" Langdale replied, by repeating our Lord's words which command baptism, assuring eternal life to such as are baptized and believe, and condemnation to them that believe not. " Then," observed Woodman, " by your saying baptism bringeth faith ; and all that be baptized in the water shall be saved, shall they ? How say you ?" " Yea, that they shall," replied the doctor ; " if they die before they come to discretion, they should be saved every one of them ; and all that be not baptized, shall be damned, every one of them." This roused the other, who exclaimed, " How dare you speak such blasphemy against God and his word, as you do. How dare you for your life take upon you to preach, and teach the

people, and understand not what you say? For I protest before God you understand not the scriptures, but as far as natural reason can comprehend: for if you did, you would be ashamed to speak as you do." Langdale told him to take heed, for he had a toy in his head that would make him despair; and asked why he reprov'd him as he did. Woodman answered, "Because you blaspheme God:" and then challenged him to prove his doctrine by scripture, which made the other turn pale and tremble. Woodman then proceeded to show that the perdition threatened was not to them that are not baptized, but to such as believe not; adducing the words of St. John, "He that believeth not is condemned already, because he believeth not." He went on, "I dare not say for all the goods under heaven, that all they that receive no material baptism by the water shall be condemned, as you have said: yet I would you should not gather of these words that I deny baptism, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any man, so rash in judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to disprove by the word; and to make it seem to the simple that the outward washing of the water were the cause of faith." "Why, is it not so?" said Langdale: "will you deny it? how say you, will you deny it? I say the child hath no faith before it is baptized; and therefore the baptizing bringeth the faith. How say you to it? Make me a plain answer to this question." "Now," said Woodman, "I perceive you go about nothing else but to take vantage of my words. But, by God's help, I will answer you so that you shall well see your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the mouth of the prophets and apostles; and then ask them whether they will deny it."

He then asked where Jacob was baptized before he had faith ; alleging the passage that speaks of his election before his birth : but Langdale parried this, as it was before the institution of baptism. He demanded an answer to his former question, observing, that Woodman denied original sin, and free will : for, said he, " if children can be saved without baptism, it must needs follow that children have no original sin ; the which is put away in the baptizing. But I think you know not what original sin is, or free will either." Woodman told him, he thanked God, he thought he could tell him better than he could : then asked him, " What free will hath man to do good of himself ?" Langdale answered, " I say that all men have as much free will as Adam had before the fall." " I pray you how prove you that ?" " Thus I prove it," quoth the doctor, " that as sin entered into the world, and by the nature of one that sinned all men became sinners, the which was by Adam : so by the obedience of one man righteousness came upon all men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before their fall : the which was by Jesus Christ. See Rom. v."

Woodman exclaimed, " Oh, what an overthrow have you given yourself here in original sin, and yet cannot see it ! For, in proving that we have free will, you have quite denied original sin. For here you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall ; and I am sure that Adam had no original sin before his fall. If we be as free now, as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God to take away the sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, ' My grace is sufficient for thee.' These words, with divers other, prove original sin in us ; but not that it shall hurt God's elect people, for his grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one place that it is

not without baptism ; and in another place you put it away quite by the death of Christ ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are baptized in the blood of Christ, that he shed on the cross ; and in the water that he sweat for pain, and putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I say with David, In sin was I born, and in sin hath my mother conceived me : but in no such sin as shall be imputed, because I am born of God by faith, as St. John saith, 1 John iii. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the prophet, Psalm xxxii., 'because the Lord imputeth not my sin,' and not because I have no sin ; but because God hath not imputed my sins. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy, he hath saved us. Where is now your free will that you speak of ? If we have free will, then our salvation cometh of our own selves and not of God : the which is great blasphemy against God and his word." He quoted St. James, St. John, and St. Paul, and went on to apply those scriptures. "Seeing then, that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and lighteneth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed, methink all the rest of our own will is little worth, or naught at all, unless it be wickedness."

He then craved leave to answer to the matter of Jacob's faith, which Langdale had put aside, as having nothing to do with baptism : the doctor consented, probably as Woodman suspected, hoping to lay hold on some of his words ; and he proceeded, "First, if you be remembered, you said that if my child had died without baptism, if I had been the cause that it had not been baptized, the child should have been damned, and I too. How say you ?" "Yea, that you should," answered the doctor. Woodman returned, "That is

most untrue, for the prophet saith, The father shall not bear the child's offences; nor the child the father's offences; but the soul that sinneth shall die. What could the child have done withal, if it had died without baptism? the child could not do withal. How say you unto this? And I am sure that what I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before the baptism, is not disagreeable unto the word. For circumcision was a figure of baptism; and that I may bring to prove baptism by, as well as St. Peter did: for he brought in Noah's flood, which was a long time before Jacob and Esau, to prove baptism; saying, 'While the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by water; like as baptism also now saveth us; not in putting away the filth of the flesh, but there is a good conscience consenting to God.' Here Peter proveth that water had not saved Noah and the other seven, no more than it saved all the rest, if it had not been for their faith; which faith now saveth us; not in putting away the filthy soil of the flesh by the washing of the water, but by a good conscience consenting unto God. But you say, if they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to years of discretion, they be all saved: the which St. Peter is clean against, unless you grant that children have faith before they be baptized. Now, I ask you what consent of conscience the children have, being infants? For you say they believe not before they be baptized; *ergo*, then they consent not to be baptized, because they believe not. And by this it followeth that none shall be saved, although they be baptized. I would fain see how you can answer this." Langdale replied, "You are the most perverse man that ever I knew: you wot not what you say. The children are baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, and that is the good conscience

that St. Peter speaketh of; and the christening is the keeping of the law that St. Paul speaketh of, saying, Neither is circumcision anything worth, nor uncircumcision, but the keeping of the law is altogether. Like as circumcision was the keeping of the old law, so is baptism the keeping of the new law." To this Woodman replied, "Ah, methought if you would talk with me, you should be fain to bring in the old law, to maintain your sayings by; for all that you refused it when I brought it in. But yet it serveth not for your purpose so much as you think for. For here you have confessed that neither circumcision availeth, nor uncircumcision; the which you yourself have coupled with baptism, proving that none of them prevaieth, but keeping of the law is altogether: the which law is kept, you say, by the outward signs; which is nothing so: for Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness, and this was before he was circumcised." After a little more on this point, he asked, "Where you said the children be baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, they being all unbelievers, in what faith is the child baptized, then? In none at all, by your own saying." This greatly moved the doctor, who exclaimed, "What! then you would count that there are very few believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment against the people. Belike you think there be none that believe well, unless they be of your mind. Indeed, then, Christ's flock were a very little flock." Woodman replied, "Indeed, these be Christ's words, in Luke xii., the which we may see to be very true. Yea, you said, if there were not one amongst three, that were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred for anything that I can see; for if there were, there would not be so many that would

seek their neighbors' goods and lives as there be." Langdale cunningly asked him how many he thought there were of that little flock : but he got not the information he wanted, for Woodman told him it would be making himself equal with God to answer it ; he then quoted many passages, to show that the great mass of mankind are in error, and Christ's believing people a small number, ending by an offer to prove it further, and also that the doctor and his party were not in that small number. Langdale then began to stamp and rage, railing at him for a long while. When he had finished, Woodman asked wherefore he was so angry at his answering the questions proposed ? Langdale said he had not answered him to original sin ; that he denied original sin. Before the other could reply, a gentleman came in, Mr. Gage, who had been kind to Woodman. He acted as a peace-maker, and persuaded the angry doctor to resume the examination, suggesting that he should question him on the sacrament of the altar ; and here the former discussion with Chichester and the priest was, in substance, repeated. It ended, of course, by remanding the prisoner to the Marshalsea.

Woodman did not, in the foregoing argument, intend to oppose infant baptism ; he had already acknowledged it as scriptural and proper : but he sought to combat that popish error wherein Hawkes had so ably resisted Bonner, and which asserts that the mere outward rite is so indispensable to the salvation of the soul, that an infant dying before it can be sprinkled must be eternally lost. Woodman, it is evident, had some singular views of the Holy Scriptures, as, for instance, his supposing the symbol, "lively stones," to refer to flint stones, out of which fire might be struck to enlighten the darkness of others. A beautiful idea, though a strange one. Salva-

tion by faith alone, and through grace alone, was the point which the Lord's people guarded with excessive care, in contradiction to the merit-mongering and will-worshipping of the persecuting church. This gives them occasionally the appearance of too lightly regarding those outward ordinances which their enemies exalted into saviors ; but in reality they did not so.

Woodman's next examination took place at St. George's church, in Southwark, before the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, with others. Winchester commenced by giving a long history of his former imprisonment and release, his alleged offences since, and his capture. In this he made just as many mistakes as he made statements ; and at the end Woodman showed him the utter falsehood of all he had said. The whole time was occupied in repeating stories of Woodman's reported sayings and actions, contrary to the laws, not one of which charges could they maintain ; and he was sent back to prison, when there seemed a greater probability of their being compelled to release him. But what can the lamb's innocence avail, when the hungry wolf has it under his paw ?

Three weeks afterwards, he was brought to St. Mary's, in Southwark, where sat the bishop of Winchester, Harpsfield, Langdale, and other commissioners, in the presence of above three hundred people. Winchester began by rebuking him for defending himself so stoutly on the last occasion, when Woodman had maintained that he was not sent to prison for any heresy, but for the breach of a statute in speaking to a priest in the pulpit. The bishop now tried to disprove this ; but Woodman told him he had bought a statute-book since he was imprisoned, and had made out the whole case, confirming what he had before asserted, and proving the

bishop's charge to be false. Finding this would not answer, Winchester then produced the account, in the prisoner's own writing, of his former examinations before the commissioners, and proceeded to question him of his belief in their sacrament of the altar. Woodman, seeing that the bishop only wanted to make him utter, in his diocese, something that he might catch hold of, to assume the character of his ordinary, replied, "I will answer you to no such thing, for I am not of your diocese; therefore I will not answer to you." Winchester said, "Thou art within my diocese, and thou hast offended within my diocese; and therefore I will have to do with thee." "Have to do with me if you will," returned the martyr; "but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly: for though I be now in your diocese, I have not offended in your diocese; if I have, show me wherein." He was told of his own hand-writing, there present, which stated his heretical opinions. He owned it as his, but said that, being merely a relation of the talk between him and the commissioners, it was no offence, nor had they anything to do with it. The bishop then ordered him to be sworn, that he might question him as to where he wrote it, and whether he still held the same doctrines; but Woodman refused to be sworn by him, not being his ordinary; and also protested he wrote no word of the paper in that diocese. Langdale then asserted that it was written in the King's Bench. Woodman declared he did not write it there. A fat priest next demanded where he wrote it. He answered, that he owed him not so much service as to tell him: they must find it out how they could, for they only sought his life. Winchester then went on to quote from his paper the replies that he had formerly given to the commissioners, and several times sought to entrap him into some ex-

pression of his opinion there ; but Woodman was too wary to be caught. When the bishop, after reading his remarks on the giving forth of false doctrine in pulpits and churches, asked him where it took place, he replied, " In the synagogue of Satan, where God is dishonored with false doctrine." " I pray you, where is one of them ?" asked Winchester. " Nay," he replied, " that judge yourself ; I came not hither to be a judge."

Having, in like manner, baffled all the attempts to make him commit himself, he answered the bishop very severely to some of his railing speeches, quoting the book of Revelation, and also the apocryphal one called the boook of Wisdom. When he named this, Winchester cried out, " Wisdom ? what speakest thou of Wisdom ? thou never hadst it, for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard speak." Woodman answered, " Do you not know that the foolish things of the world must confound the wise things ? Wherefore, it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands." " Nay, thou art none of those fools," returned the bishop : " thou art an obstinate fool and a heretic. Lay hand on the book, and answer to such things as I will lay against thee." Woodman refused, repeating that he was not of that diocese. Winchester exclaimed, " This man is without law ; he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare say, for he will not obey their laws. Let me see the king's commission. I will see whether he will obey that or not." The martyr remarked, " I would you loved the king and queen's majesty no worse than I do, if it pleased God : you would not do as you do, then." " Hold him a book," repeated the angry bishop, " he is a rank heretic. Thou shalt answer such things as I will demand of thee."

Woodman then said, " I take heaven and earth to witness that I am no heretic ; neither can I tell wherefore I

am brought to prison, no more than any man here can tell." He looked round upon the people, and then continued, addressing the bishop, "If you have any just cause against me worthy of death lay it against me, and let me have it; for I refuse not to die, I praise God for the truth's sake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cause let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children, to see them kept; and other poor folk that I would set to work, by the help of God. I have set to work a hundred persons ere this, all the year together, and was unjustly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will!" The inhuman bishop now said, "Do you see how he looketh about for help? But I would see any man show thee a cheerful countenance, and especially you that be of my diocese. If any of you bid God strengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or show him a cheerful countenance, you shall be excommunicated, and shall not be received again till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it." The martyr replied, "I look for no help of man, for God is on my side, I praise him therefore: and therefore I need not care who be against me: neither do I care." The judges called out, "Away with him, and bring us another." So he was carried back to prison.

The sixth and last examination of this bold champion took place, also at St. Mary Overy's, two days after the preceding one; where were present the bishops of Winchester and Chichester, Harpsfield, Langdale, Roper, and the same priest who had formerly assisted them. Winchester told him he had affirmed certain heresies the last time he was before them; and asked if he held them still, or would revoke them. He answered that he held no heresies, as the Lord knew. "No!" said the bishop, "Did you not affirm that Judas received bread? which

is a heresy, unless you tell what more than bread." Woodman replied, "Is it heresy to say that Judas received no more than bread? I said he received more than bare bread, for he received the same sacrament that was prepared to show forth the Lord's death; and because he presumed to eat without faith, he eat the devil withal, as the words of Christ declare; after he ate the sop, the devil entered into him as you cannot deny." "Hold him a book," said the bishop, "I will have you answer directly whether Judas did eat the body of Christ, or no." But Woodman refused to be sworn, maintaining that the bishop of Winchester had no jurisdiction over him in the cause: and to this he stood inflexibly. He also pleaded that the bishop of London had discharged him of all the matters laid against him; and that it was unlawful as well as unjust, to imprison and try him over again on the same charges. Winchester said, if he was again suspected of being a heretic, they had a right to call him before them and examine him of his faith, upon suspicion. "Indeed," said Woodman, "St. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God; and I am contented so to do, if it please my bishop to hear me." "Yes, I pray you let us hear it," said the bishop of Chichester.

"I do believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation." Winchester asked, "And how believe you in the blessed sacrament of the altar?" And at that word they all put off their caps to the abominable idol-

Woodman replied, "I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions ; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood." "No?" said the bishop, "hold him a book. If he refuse to swear, he is an anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated." Woodman firmly repeated, "I will not swear for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to receive an oath ; for you laid heresies to my charge in yonder pulpit, the which you are not able to prove : wherefore you be not meet to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your diocese, nor will have anything to do with you." Winchester repeated that he would have to do with him ; and that he was a strong heretic. Woodman remarked, that all truth was heresy with them : but offered to show them his belief concerning the sacrament, and then repeated what he had before declared, as to his coming in faith that Christ suffered for his sins, and that he should be saved by his blood-shedding ; and so receiving whole Christ, mystically, by faith. They all cried out on the last words ; and the fat priest calling him a fool, demanded what he meant by mystically. He replied, "I take mystically to be the faith that is in us ; that the world seeth not, but God only."

Here Winchester remarked that he knew not what he said ; and demanded once more a direct answer, as to the real presence in the sacrament. Woodman replied, "I have said as much as I will say ; excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary. Let him do it if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands." Chichester said, "I am not consecrated yet ; I told you when you were with me." On which Woodman, recollecting that a bull from Rome must arrive before he could receive consecration, quaintly remarked,

“No, indeed, your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it chanceth now.” This put the pope’s churchmen in a rage: they all-railed at him together, telling him that he was out of his wits. “So Festus said to Paul, when he spake the words of soberness and truth, out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you shall be judged yourselves. You shall go to hell all the sort of you, if you condemn me; if you repent it not with speed.” After some commotion, Winchester and Harpsfield said, “We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled and do as we would have thee.” “To save my soul?” repeated the martyr; “nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already: I praise God therefore. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that has saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid.” On this the priest cried out, “What a heresy is that, my lords! He saith his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was?” “Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look at the first of the Ephesians, and there you shall find it, where Paul saith, ‘Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love; having predestinated us unto the adoption of children.’ These be the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that saveth; and not you or any man else.” “What!” said the priest, “faith without works? St. James saith, ‘Faith without works is dead; and we have free will to do good

works." Woodman replied, "I would not that any of you should think that I disallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourselves, for it is the gift of God, as saith St. Paul to the Philippians, 'It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, of his good pleasure.'"

Winchester, not enduring to hear so much sound doctrine, now interposed, saying, "Make an end; answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your ordinary, by my lord cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not, for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you to show yourself a subject in this matter."

Then the rest having by this time discovered that nothing was to be done with their resolute victim by harshness, all joined, saying, "Lo, my lord desireth you gently to answer him, and so do we all. For if you refuse to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my lord cardinal may put whom he will in the bishop's office, until he is consecrated." But Woodman was not to be so led: he answered, "I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it, and if I can prove it to be as you say, I will tell you my mind in anything he shall ask of me, without any flattering." The priest said, "My lord and we all tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him." "I will believe none of you all," replied Woodman, "for you be turncoats and changelings, and be wavering-minded, as saith St. James: you be neither hot nor cold, as saith St. John, therefore God will cast you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth." "What!" said Winchester, "be we turncoats and

changelings? What meanest thou by that?" "I mean," answered the plain-spoken prisoner, "that in king Edward's days you taught the doctrine that was set forth then, every one of you; and now you teach the contrary; therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may well enough." These words made them quake, and Winchester said, "Nay, not all, as it chanced." "No! I pray you, where were you then?" asked Woodman. The bishop replied, "I was in the Tower, as the lieutenant will bear me record." "If you were in the Tower," said Woodman, "it was not therefore, I dare say; it was for some other matter." Then the others took heart, and said, "My lord, he cometh to examine you, we think: if he will not answer to the articles, you were best to excommunicate him." The bishop replied, "He is the naughtiest varlet heretic that ever I knew: I will read the sentence against him." After some more angry speaking, and being told again by Woodman that if he condemned him he would be punished everlastingly; with the assurance that he himself was not afraid to die for God's sake, if he had a hundred lives, the bishop repeated, "For God's sake? nay, for the devil's sake. Thou sayest thou art not afraid to die; no more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thyself willingly, because thou wilt not be ruled." Woodman said, "Nay, I defy the devil, Judas, and all their members. And Judas' flesh was not afraid, but his spirit and conscience was afraid, and therefore he despaired and hung himself. But, I praise God, I feel no loathsomeness in my flesh to die, but a joyful conscience and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my flesh is subdued to it, I praise God; and therefore I am not afraid of death."

The bishop of Chichester now said, "Woodman, for God's sake be ruled. You know what you said at my

house. I could say more, if I would." "Say what you can," replied the undaunted martyr; "the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the Living God; and because I said, I praise God, and The Lord: which you ought to be ashamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written." Winchester spoke next: "Well, how say you? Will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly." "My lord," he replied, "if you, or any of you all, can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I desire all these people to be witness." "Will you so?" said the priest, "then we shall agree well enough. St. Paul saith so." Woodman said, "I pray you where saith he so? Rehearse the words." The priest answered, "In the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, he saith, 'Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup, unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body.' " Woodman then said, "Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them." They gave him the book, and he went on: "These be the words, even that you said: good people hearken well to them: 'Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily:' he saith not, Whoso eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily; but he saith, 'Whosoever eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily (which is the sacrament), eateth and drinketh his own damnation,' because he maketh no difference between the sacrament which representeth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people,

you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true. Wherefore, I cannot believe them in anything that they do."

Winchester exclaimed, "Thou art a rank heretic indeed! Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence against thee." "Judge not, lest you be judged," said the martyr, again: "for as you have judged me, you be yourself." Winchester commenced reading, and he asked, "Why will you read the sentence against me, and cannot tell wherefore?" "Thou art an heretic," answered the wicked prelate, "and therefore thou shalt be excommunicated." "I am no heretic; I take heaven and earth to witness, I defy all heretics; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you grace to repent it, if it be his will."

"And so," writes Woodman, in closing his story, "he read forth the sentence in Latin, but what he said God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away, away with him! So I was carried to the Marshalsea again; where I am; and shall be, as long as it shall please God. And I praise God most heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predestinated me to come to so high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his name's sake; his name be praised therefor, for ever and ever. Amen."

Woodman was not burned alone; he made one out of ten who were consumed in the same pile. GEORGE STEVENS had been some time also in prison for the truth; but the remaining eight were only apprehended two, or at most three days before they received sentence at the mouth of these ravening wolves. W. MAYNARD, and A. HOSMAN, his servant: J. MORRIS, with his aged mother, MARGERY MORRIS; THOMASINE WOOD, Mr. Maynard's

maid-servant ; DENNIS BURGESS ; and two married women, named ASHDOWNE and GROVE, were all at large, some say the very day before they were committed to the flames. No time was allowed for a writ to come down from London to Lewes, where they suffered. Such legal proceedings were now scarcely thought of: the process of the murderers was like that of the Babylonian tyrant on the plains of Dura. Whosoever would not worship their senseless gods, was seized, bound, and cast into the fire.

CHAPTER XI.

JULIUS PALMER.

JULIUS PALMER, who at the age of twenty-four yielded his life for the testimony of Jesus, furnishes us with one of the most affecting instances of God's mighty working, and victorious grace, ever beheld. One cannot read the story without thinking of the young man in the gospel, on whom Jesus looking, loved him, though as yet he lacked the one thing indispensable, which He only could supply. Palmer's history is so beautifully told by old John Fox, that we shall herein deviate as little from his words as the necessary abridgment of a redundant style will allow. He certainly is a gem of the first water among the many sparkling jewels which he has enshrined for the church to contemplate.

Julius Palmer was a native of Coventry, where his father, by his calling an upholsterer, had been chief magistrate, and was a considerable merchant. Julius was a pupil in the free school of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he became an excellent scholar, in prose and verse. He had a very prompt and ready memory, a sharp and pregnant wit ; he spoke Latin fluently, and was so well versed in the Greek, that when the regular reader in that branch was absent from college, Julius supplied his place. He was a subtle disputant in the schools ; and when at home used to say that he was never so pleasantly occupied as while debating hard questions in philosophy. He often spent the whole night in this his favorite occupation. Nor was he less inclined to familiar converse, greatly delighting to exercise his mind and learning by friendly argument, and close discussion with his equals ; yet so devoid was he of all self-conceit and love of contradiction, that his unostentatious, modest way of carrying on an argument, the soberness of his reasoning, and gentleness of his manner, were no less remarkable than his dexterity and learning. In his behavior he was unaffected, of a cheerful countenance, pleasant speech, courteous, affable, and lowly as a child. Of deceit he was incapable, and so unsuspecting of it in others, that he was frequently deceived by them. He never reproached an enemy, nor resented an ill office, for he used to say none were to be accounted valiant but such as could despise an injury.

His diligence in study was great ; he rose at four o'clock in the morning, and pursued his employment till ten at night—a very late hour in those times ; and by dint of such close application was admitted as a reader in logic at the age of eighteen. Such was young Palmer, in the days of king Edward ; and withal, throughout that reign, as bitter an enemy to the gospel of Christ as his blind and

bigoted devotion to popery could make him. His chosen companions were such as hated the truth; and the extreme openness of his character rendered his hostility apparent to all. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was because the college rules compelled him so to do; and as to sermons from the faithful preachers, he not only absented himself, but dissuaded his pupils from hearing them; telling them they could be much better occupied at home. The king's preachers, and all others who set forth sound doctrine, he openly disdained and despised; insomuch that he was continually under reproof for his contumacy, and by the officers of the college so frequently punished by fine, short commons, or severe impositions of tasks, that they remarked he sought how to expose himself to suffering in the cause that he deemed so holy.

At length, shortly before the death of Edward, some slanderous libels and railing verses against Dr. Haddon, president of that college, were found affixed to the doors and walls; and Palmer, who was known to have expressed himself with great severity against the president, was suspected of being their author. This he stoutly denied, and cleared himself of the charge; but in so doing he spoke so many reproachful things concerning the officers who examined him, and in so many ways showed his active enmity against the truth, that finding him obstinate and incorrigible, they expelled him from the house.

Thus thrown on his own resources, Julius engaged himself as tutor in the family of sir Francis Knolles; where he continued until the coming in of Mary. When her visitors were despatched to Oxford, to reform the university—that is, to displace the godly and learned men established there, and to appoint others of an opposite character in their room—then came Julius Palmer, as a claim-

ant for his former privileges, truly asserting that the religion then brought back he had to the uttermost of his ability defended and maintained. His plea was allowed : and he was restored again, to experience the amazing power of God's grace, under circumstances as unfavorable to his conversion, as his former state in that college had been advantageous.

During his expulsion he had heard, particularly in the house of sir Francis Knolles, so much of the truth, as did, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, excite some doubt and inquiry in his mind : and this became evident, through the extreme ingenuousness of his temper, which could not endure the least shadow of disguise. Whatever his heart thought, that did his tongue utter ; and to this was owing his exposure to suspicions that, by a little reserve, he might have avoided. When God began to work the change within him, he became very inquisitive to know how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, and how they took their death. He sent a scholar of his, with another young man, at his own expense, to Gloucestershire, to witness, and truly to report to him, all the particulars of bishop Hooper's martyrdom. He had often in king Edward's time, said of the gossellers, that none of them all would stand to death for their religion ; and for this cause, it was supposed, he inquired so narrowly into their conduct ; thereby becoming aware with what extreme and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried ; and how valiantly they overcame all kinds of torments, enduring to the end. At last he was made a personal witness of it ; in the examinations and death of those dear servants of Christ who in Oxford were burnt before his eyes. The first hope that godly persons conceived of him, was at his return from the martyrdom of the bishops Ridley and Latimer ; when he

was greatly agitated, and in the hearing of several broke out into strong expression, "O raging cruelty ! O tyranny tragical and more than barbarous !" Indeed this lovely phoenix may have been said to spring from the ashes of those blessed men : his darkness was illumined by the first rays of the candle which they, by God's grace, then lighted in England. From that very day he gave himself to the diligent study of the truth, immediately borrowing from a college friend Peter Martyr's commentaries upon the epistle to the Corinthians, and other good books of different pious men.

A very striking account was written out for Fox, by one whose own history was not a little remarkable. This Mr. Bullingham was at college with Palmer, and quite of his mind ; so that towards the end of Edward's reign, he exiled himself to France for his religion. In Mary's days he returned, and was appointed chaplain to Stephen Gardiner ; and after the happy establishment of queen Elizabeth on the throne, he continued so perverse, contumacious, and mischievous, that he was dispossessed of all his livings. Nevertheless, Fox, praising God, declares that at the time he was writing, Bullingham was become a most constant professor and earnest teacher of the word of God. This is his recital of what took place between him and Palmer.

"I, Bullingham, intended to forsake England, and to flee into France, for the wicked pope's sake ; (which came to pass, indeed, for in Rouen I was for a time), this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London ; where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's, the queen's palace ; and as we leaned at the great gate of that palace, Palmer spake thus unto me : ' Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamity we are fallen, for

the pope and his religion. We are young men abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a strange country, both friendless and moneyless, where I fear you shall taste of sourer sauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wit's end. The face of hell itself is as amiable unto me as the sight of Magdalen College; for there I was hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth! And as touching our religion, even our conscience beareth witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the possession therefore, as we understand the gospellers to taste of their religion. Yea, to say the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my bread.' So Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy. At my return into England again, my chance was to meet Palmer in Paul's, where a rood was set up. This our meeting was in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and our miserable departing had been not long before the end of king Edward's days. Then, after our greeting, thus said Palmer; 'Bullingham, is this our god, for whom we have smarted?' 'No, Palmer,' quoth I, 'it is an image of him.' 'An image?' quoth he, 'I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin, whose Institutes I have perused since our departure, telleth me plainly by God's word, that it is an idol; and that the pope is Antichrist, and his clergy the filthy sink-hole of hell. And now I believe it, for I feel it sensibly. Oh, that God had revealed these matters unto me in times past! I would have bequeathed this Romish religion, or rather irreligion, to the devil of hell, from whence it came. Believe them

not, Bullingham; I will rather have these knees pared off than I will kneel to yonder jackanapes (meaning the rood). God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this world." "Well, Palmer," said I, "is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little ease at the end. I will never have to do with you again." So I left Palmer walking in Paul's: who, through the element of fire, is exalted above the elements, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted martyrs. Thus much is true; and let it be known that I, Bullingham, affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him."

It would appear that at the time of this meeting, Palmer had attained to a full knowledge of the abominable character of popery; but not to that joy and peace in believing which soon followed on a close and prayerful study of God's word. His happiness then became so great that it was apparent in all his words and actions: he never before so hated the truth as now he loved it; and his only trouble was in being compelled outwardly to join in the idolatrous services of the church, for which he had aforetime gloried in suffering rebuke, censure, and loss. At length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he failed not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behavior; for sometimes he would absent himself from the confiteor, when he was obliged to bow in different directions, knock his breast, and perform other idle ceremonies against which his heart rose: and sometimes being there, he would leave the church at sacring time, as they term it, out of the way of the idolatrous adoration. These things were noted by the president, Cole, who both suspected and hated him, as did others of his

former friends. His conscience also suffered great torment ; for his new life and old living but ill agreed together, and he resolved to depart voluntarily to avoid a second expulsion. To a particular friend, who besought him to remain a while longer, asking where he would go, or how he could live, he made answer, " The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof : let the Lord work : I will commit myself to God and the wide world."

Two instances are related of the extreme difficulty that he found in even tolerating the necessary intercourse with what then constituted the nominal church. After quitting Magdalen college, as a student, he had occasion to be there on a time, and hearing that the Spanish friar John, who succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr as divinity lecturer, was to preach there that Sunday, he refused to attend ; till by the earnest persuasion of a friend, a fellow of the college, he was induced to accompany him. But suddenly, as the friar vehemently inveighed against God's truth, in defending certain popish heresies, Palmer, on whom many eyes were turned, left the church, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly. When it was demanded of him why he had slipped away so abruptly, he said, " O, if I had not openly departed, I should have openly stopped mine ears. For the friar's blasphemous talk, in disproving, or rather depraving the verity, made not only mine ears to glow, but mine heart worse to smart, that if mine ears had been cut from mine head." On another occasion, the same friend of his, Mr. Shipper, invited him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer went, not knowing that he was to meet this friar John, Smith, Tresham, and others of the like mind, whose company he could ill bear. On seeing them, he whispered his friend that he would begone, for that was no place for him ; but Shipper, by representing that

such a step would needlessly betray and endanger him with other persuasions, induced him to ~~stay~~. When he came to the fireside, the friar, who could not speak English, saluted him cheerfully in Latin, to which Palmer, with a mild and kind countenance, returned a courteous answer; but when the friar offered him his hand, he turned his eye aside, as though he had not seen it, and spoke to another, so avoiding to give, even in semblance, the right hand of fellowship to an opposer of Christ's gospel. When they were set, and had eaten, the friar with a pleasant look, offering him the cup, said, "I drink to you, learned young man." Palmer, deeply blushing, answered, "I acknowledge no such name, O sir." Then taking the cup, he set it down, as though he meant by and by to pledge him; but it was well marked that he took care to forget it. Afterwards being sharply rebuked by his friend Shipper for what he called unwise and unseemly behavior, Julius replied, "The oil of these men doth not supple, but breaketh my head."

On his last visit to Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwich, a fellow of Trinity college, meeting him in his friend's chamber, began to reason with him; and finding him very zealous and earnest in defending the truth, said to him, "Well, Palmer, well; now thou art stout and hardy in thine opinion; but if thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldest tell me another tale. I advise thee, beware of the fire; it is a shrewd matter to burn." "Truly," said Palmer, "I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto, I thank God, I have escaped it. But I judge verily it will be my end at the last; welcome be it, by the grace of God! Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters; but if a man be

once able, by the help of God's Spirit to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more mastery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread."

This same open simplicity and godly sincerity was made the means, before long, of bringing him to the immediate presence of his God. After resigning his fellowship in Oxford, Palmer obtained the mastership of the grammar-school at Reading, where he was highly esteemed and favored among those who loved the truth, no less for his zeal in God's service than for his great learning and knowledge. But certain artful hypocrites, hating him for the same cause, resolved on his destruction; to accomplish which, they feigned an extraordinary love for the gospel, with much affection for himself; so that they found no difficulty in gaining the entire confidence of the open-hearted young man, who desired nothing so much as to encourage others in the path where he found such increasing pleasantness and peace. Having thus got access, both to his secret thoughts and to his home, these traitors took occasion in his absence to rifle his study of certain godly books and writings, among which was some poetry, and other productions of Palmer, written against the popish proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and inhuman treatment of the martyrs. Having done this, they had the hardihood to inform him of it, threatening to lay the papers before the council, unless he would instantly and quietly depart, resigning the school to a friend of theirs. The innocent victim of this odious deceit, taking patiently the spoiling of his goods, left all that belonged to him, with his quarter's salary, in their hands, and took his departure from Reading, determined to go to Ensham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to obtain from her certain legacies due to him by his father's will, which he should have

JULIUS PALMER.

received some years before ; and taking his journey by Oxford, sent his friend Shipper, with his brother, to prepare her for his visit, and entreat her favor. He then followed, and his mother no sooner saw him on his knees, asking her blessing, as usual, than she exclaimed, "Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, wheresoever thou go." The poor youth, amazed at so cruel a greeting, paused a while, and then said, "O mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved ; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me." "Nay," replied she, "thou wentest from God's blessing into the warm sun, when thou wast banished for a heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford ; and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading too." "Alas, mother," said he, "you have been misinformed ; I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of my own accord. And heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure they use not to expel or banish, but to burn heretics, as they term them." She answered, "Well, I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done ; but as we were taught by the new law in king Edward's days, which is damnable heresy." "Indeed, I confess," said Julius, "that I believe that doctrine which was taught in king Edward's time, which is not heresy, but truth ; neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles." "If thou be at that point," said she, "I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never more take me for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of thine ; thy father bequeathed naught for heretics. Fagots I have to burn thee ; more thou gettest not at my hands." "Mother," he replied, "whereas you have

cursed me, I again pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long." And with other soft and sweet words, the tears abundantly trickling down his cheeks, he meekly departed from her. The sight so far touched her hard heart, that she flung after him a piece of gold, saying, "Take that to keep thee a true man."

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly help, and cruelly repelled of her whom he took to be his surest friend, wist not where to turn his face. He at last resolved to return secretly to Magdalen college, where he knew that he had some private friends; and so it proved, for, through their kind interest he obtained, even from president Cole, a recommendation to a school in Gloucestershire, for which place he again started, commended to the divine blessing by his friends, of whom some accompanied him to Ensham, and others to Burford. As he proceeded on his way alone, musing and pondering on these things, it suddenly came into his mind to return privately to Reading; hoping by the aid of some trusty person, to secure his little property of household stuff, and to obtain the quarter's salary due to him. To Reading therefore he came; and taking up his lodging at the sign of the Cardinal's Hat, desired his hostess to assign him a retired room. But in spite of his precaution, some of the generation of vipers had knowledge of his coming; and they immediately conferred together how to complete his destruction. It was determined that one Mr. Hampton, a double-faced professor, should visit him; and under color of friendly zeal in his service, fish out the cause of his unexpected return to Reading.

Palmer, in the integrity of his own simple and confiding heart, opened to this treacherous friend his whole design, from which the other strove to turn him, representing what great danger he would bring on himself

thereby. Palmer replied, insisting on his own plan, until Hampton, in a fury, went off, saying, that as he had fished so he might fowl, for him. Palmer, still suspecting nothing, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed; but quiet he was not to remain long time, for soon after his chamber was broken open by officers and their retinue, who came rushing in, with lanterns and weapons, requiring him in the name of the king and queen to come peaceably away with them. The harmless young man arose, and without speaking one word, suffered himself to be led away, as a lamb to the slaughter. He was brought to prison, taken to a vile, damp, filthy dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there left, with his hands and feet made fast in such high stocks, that his body could scarcely touch the ground as he hung. And so for about ten days he remained.

When at last he was brought before the mayor, the charges laid against him were not, as he expected, for heresy, but for treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery. On hearing which he exclaimed, that if such horrible and heinous crimes might be proved against him, he would patiently submit to all kinds of torments that could be devised; adding, with a burst of righteous indignation, "O ye cruel blood-suckers! ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperish and wolvis generation of pharisees and papists; but be ye well assured, that God already seeth your subtle devices and crafty packing, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to remain unpunished."

The charge of treason was grounded on some remarks that he was stated to have made respecting the queen's use of the sword put into her hand; that of sedition, because, it was said, some servants of sir Francis Knolles

had fallen out, and made a disturbance among themselves, from attending his lectures. The other two were built on a letter from his landlady, which they pretended to have intercepted, and on some other equally false and absurd report. This indictment being read, the mayor ordered him in the cage, for a public spectacle to the people, while he went to dinner; and in the mean time care was taken to spread through the whole place the nature of the accusations. In the afternoon Palmer was brought to his answer, when he so easily and clearly proved his innocence, showing also, on the face of the letters themselves, that they were palpable forgeries, as to make the mayor ashamed that he had given credit to them: and measures were taken to convey him privately out of the country, to save their own characters.

While this was going on, a zealous professor of the gospel, named Galant, visited him in the prison, where he found him a little better treated than before, and said, "Oh, Palmer, thou hast deceived divers men's expectations, for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness' sake, but for your own demerits." To which the martyr replied, "Oh, brother Galant, these be the old practices of that satanical brood. But be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their falsehood, that henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith." And then he wrote, for his friend's satisfaction, what confirmed the statement already made.

His wicked adversaries, seeing their first plan entirely defeated, and fearing that if he should secretly escape, both themselves and the magistrates might be exposed and endangered, resolved on the extreme refuge that alone was left. They had not dared to accuse him of heresy, because they still kept on the mask of godliness,

themselves, and were accounted earnest brethren by the Lord's people: but now they laid aside both shame and fear; and no longer concealing the disgraceful act of robbing his study, produced the writings which they had stolen, and charged him with heresy. Palmer was then again called before the mayor, and other justices, to render an account of his faith, and to answer these new articles and informations. Having gathered enough from his own lips to entrap him, they devised a bill of instructions against him, to be delivered to Dr. Jeffrey, who was to hold his next visitation on the following Tuesday at Newbury. This indictment, and the prisoner, were then ordered to be conveyed together to the place of his trial. An example occurred at this time, both of charitable affection towards Palmer, and disinterested modesty on his part. A Mr. Ryder, a faithful witness of God's truth at Reading, hearing how cruelly Palmer was dealt with in the prison, and that he was pining away for lack of necessaries, and how fully he had proved his innocence before the officers, of the crimes laid to his charge, sent his servant secretly, the night before his departure for Newbury, with a bent groat, in token of his goodwill, requiring him to let him know if he lacked necessaries, as he would provide for him. Palmer answered, "The Lord reward your master for his benevolence towards me, a miserable object in this world; and tell him that, God be praised, I lack nothing." The next morning, when preparing for the journey, THOMAS ASKIN, his fellow-prisoner and companion in suffering for Christ's sake in the fire, was sitting at breakfast; and seeing Palmer very sad, leaning against the window, asked why he came not to breakfast. Palmer replied, "Because I lack money to discharge the shot." "Come on, man," said the other, "God be praised for it, I have enough for us both."

This being afterwards related to Mr. Ryder, it grieved him excessively that he had so readily taken Palmer's modest answer.

On Monday night they came to Newbury, and there found, in the dungeon to which they were committed, JOHN GWIN, their faithful brother martyr. When brought before Dr. Jeffreys, in consistory, the following was the order of the examination, as gathered from the notes of Mr. Shipper, and four other faithful reporters who were present throughout.

The choir of the parish church was the place, where seats were set for Dr. Jeffreys, representing the bishop of Salisbury; sir Richard Abridges, the high sheriff; sir William Ramsford, Mr. Winchcomb, and the parson of Inglesfield. The prisoners being presented, the commission opened, and other things arranged, Dr. Jeffreys addressed Palmer, saying, "Art thou that jolly writer of three-halfpenny books that we hear of?" Palmer answered, "I know not what you mean." "Have you taught Latin so long," said the rude examiner, "that now you understand not English?" To this he gave no reply. Jeffreys then rose up, and stated that they had received certain articles against him from the mayor of Reading, whereby he had been convicted of heresies. These were: "I. That you deny the pope's holiness' supremacy. II. That there are but two sacraments. III. That the priest sheweth up an idol at mass; and herefore, you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading. IV. That there is no purgatory. V. That you be a sower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects."

Here the sheriff suggested, "You were best see first what he will say to his own handy-work." "Ye say truth," replied Jeffreys. "Tell me, Palmer, art thou

he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it." "I wrote it indeed," said Palmer, "and gathered it out of the Scriptures." "Is this doggish rhyme yours also? Look." "I wrote this, I deny not." "And what say you to these Latin verses, entitled *Epicedion*, &c. Are they yours too?" "Yea, sir." "Art thou not ashamed to affirm it?" continued Jeffreys; "it came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a learned and catholic man yet alive." Palmer answered, "If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself; for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas, being dead." "Sayest thou so?" cried the angry judge; "I will make thee recant it, and wring *peccavi* out of your lying lips ere I have done with thee." "But I know," returned Palmer, "that although of myself I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass; neither shall ye prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth and speak it so boldly." "Ah, are you full of the Spirit?" said Jeffreys; "are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?" "Sir," answered Julius Palmer, "no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Spirit, I were not a true Christian. 'He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his.'" To this Jeffreys could only reply, "I perceive you lack no words;" and was admirably answered by the young martyr, "Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them such force of matter as the gates of hell shall not be able to withstand, or to prevail against it." Jeffreys remarked, "Christ made such a promise to his apostles; I trow you will not com-

pare with them." "With the holy apostles I may not compare," replied Palmer; "neither have I any affiance in my own wit or learning, which I know is but small: yet this promise I am certain pertaineth to all such as are appointed to defend God's truth against his enemies, in the time of their persecution for the same." "Then it pertaineth not to thee," said Jeffreys. Palmer rejoined, "Yes, I am right well assured that through his grace it pertaineth at this present to me, as it shall, no doubt, appear, if you give me leave to dispute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I have there written." Jeffreys replied, "Thou art but a beardless boy, started up yesterday out of the schools; and dost thou presume to offer disputation, or to encounter with a doctor?" Palmer answered, "Remember, master doctor, 'the wind bloweth where it listeth;' and in another place, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise:' and 'Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.' God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, or person. And although your wit and learning be greater than mine, yet your belief in the truth, and zeal to defend the same, is no greater than mine."

Before any reply could be made to this beautiful speech, the registrar interposed, saying, "Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done." Jeffreys took the hint, and went on: "Well, ye shall understand that I have it not in commission at this present to dispute with you: neither were it meet that we should call again into question such articles as are already discussed, and perfectly defined, by our holy mother the church, which we ought to believe without any why or wherefore as the creed telleth us. But the cause why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be

examined upon such articles as are ministered against you, and such matter as is here contained in your handwriting, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it or nay. How say you to this?" Palmer answered, "By your holy church, you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a particular church of shavelings. The catholic church I believe, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy; that is to say a church that groundeth her belief upon the word of her spouse, Christ." "Leave railing," said Jeffreys, "and answer me directly to my question, Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?" "If you can prove any sentence therein comprised not to stand with God's word, I will presently recant it," replied Palmer. "Thou impudent fellow," cried Jeffreys, "have I not told thee that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?" Here the priest of Inglefield came to his assistance; and pointing to the pix, asked Julius, "What seest thou yonder?" He replied, "A canopy of silk brodered with gold." "Yea," said the priest, "but what is within it?" "A piece of bread in a clout, I trow." On this the other exclaimed, "Thou art as froward a heretic as ever I talked withal." He then spake much of the confiteor, and other parts of the mass; then asked, "Do you not believe that they which receive the holy sacrament of the altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body?" Palmer answered, "If the sacrament of the Lord's supper be ministered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed, spiritually and truly, eat and drink in it Christ's natural body and blood." "The faithful receivers!" cried the priest; "ye cannot blear our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?" "No, sir."

"How prove you that?" demanded the priest. Palmer replied, "By this place, 'He that eateth me, shall live by me.'" The priest then said, "See that fond fellow; while he taketh himself to be a doctor of the law, you shall see me prove him a stark foolish daw. Do you not read likewise, 'Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved?' Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you must mark how St. Paul answereth you. He saith that the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation."

Palmer wished to give him a full answer, but the priest would not hear it; crying out still, "What sayest thou to St. Paul?" "I say," replied Palmer, "that St. Paul hath no such words." "See," cries the priest, "the impudent fellow denieth the plain text—'He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily is guilty of judgment.'" "I beseech you, lend me your book," said Palmer. "Not so," replied the priest. But the sheriff entreated him to do so, and at last it was handed to Palmer, who said, "Your own book hath, 'He that eateth this bread.'" "But St. Jerome's translation hath 'body,'" said the priest. "Not so, Mr. Parson," answered Palmer; "and God be praised that I have in the mean season shut up your lips with your own book." Jeffreys now resumed, saying, "It skilleth no matter whether ye write bread or body, for we are able to prove that he meant the body. And whereas you say they eat it, spiritually, that is but a blind shift of descant." "What should I say else?" asked Palmer. Jeffreys replied, "As holy church saith, really, carnally, substantially." Palmer observed, "And with as good scripture I may say, grossly, monstrously." "Thou speakest wickedly," said Jeffreys. "But tell me, is Christ present in the sacrament, or no?" Palmer said,

"He is present." "How is he present?" Jeffreys inquired. Palmer answered, "The doctors say, *modo ineffabili*. Therefore why do you ask me? Would God you had a mind ready to believe it, or I a tongue able to express it unto you!"

Jeffreys then asked him what he said to the baptism of infants; he replied, "I say, that it standeth with God's word; and therefore it ought of necessity to be retained in the church." Jeffreys remarked, "Ye have forgotten yourself, I wis; for ye write that children may be saved without it." "So I write, and so I say," answered Palmer. "Then it is not necessary to be frequented and continued in the church," said Jeffreys. "Your argument is not good, master doctor," observed Palmer. "Will you stand to it?" says Jeffreys. "Yea, master doctor, God willing."

No more of the examination was preserved; but it appears that the sheriff, sir Richard Abridges, who had already shown some kind feeling for the prisoner, sent for him to his house the same day, after dinner, and in the presence of several gentlemen, his guests, in the most friendly way entreated him to revoke his opinion; to spare his young years, wit, and learning. "If thou wilt be conformable," said he, "and show thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith I promise thee before the company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, so long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to stuff and fit thy farm for thee. How sayest thou?" For this offer, which appears to have been made through a real good will, and compassionate feeling for the interesting young martyr, Palmer thanked him very courteously, and farther enlarged, but very modestly and reverently, on the

great truths of the religion which he held : concluding by declaring that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Christ's sake, so he would, with God's grace, be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should send time. When sir Richard had heard him out, and perceived his steadiness, he said, " Well, Palmer, then I perceive one of us twain shall be damned. For we be of two faiths, and certain I am that there is but one faith that leadeth to life and salvation." " O sir," said Julius, " I hope that we both shall be saved." Sir Richard asked, " How may that be ?" He sweetly replied, " Right well, sir. For it has pleased our merciful Saviour, according to the gospel parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four-and-twenty years ; even so I trust he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion." " Sayest thou so ?" returned the kind old man : " Well, Palmer, well, I would I might have thee but one month in my house : I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou shouldest convert me."

Mr. Winchcomb was also moved to say, " Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of lusty youth, before it be too late." But Julius Palmer answered, " Sir, I long for those springing flowers that shall never fade away." " If thou be at that point," said Winchcomb, " I have done with thee."

Palmer was led back to the dark cell ; but the two other simple believers, Askin and Gwin, were called before the consistory the same afternoon, condemned, and delivered to the sheriff.

The next morning, the sixteenth of July, Palmer was summoned, and required to subscribe to certain articles,

which they had drawn out, touching the cause of his condemnation : in the beginning of which were heaped together many grievous terms, respecting his faith, as horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish, and execrable doctrine. To this Palmer refused to subscribe ; affirming that the doctrine which he professed was not such, but good and sound doctrine. Jeffreys said, "Ye may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice ministered unto them. But I tell thee, this style is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it." "Then I cannot subscribe to it," said Palmer. Jeffreys asked, "Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou like not justice, and revoke thy heresy?" Palmer replied, "I forsake the pope, and his popelings, with all popish heresy." "Then subscribe the articles," said Jeffreys. "Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe." At last Jeffreys bade him subscribe, and qualify the matter with his own pen ; which he immediately did. Jeffreys then proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation : and delivered him to the secular power, to be burned the same afternoon, at five o'clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of their execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, thus addressed his fellow martyrs. "Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Happy are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted farther than we shall be able to bear it. We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for

coals we shall receive pearls. For God's Holy Spirit testifieth our spirit that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven, for his sake which suffered first for us."

With these and many like words, he not only comforted the hearts of his poor brethren who were as sheep appointed to be slain with him, but drew plentiful tears from the eyes of many who heard him. While they were singing a psalm, came the sheriff, sir Richard Abridges, and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of harnessed and weaponed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they should suffer, they fell all three to the ground; and while the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God, Palmer, with an audible voice, rehearsed the thirty-first psalm. As he rose from the earth, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him yet to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered, "Away, away; tempt me longer. Away, I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears." They then put off their raiment, went to the stake and kissed it; and when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a fagot at his face, causing the blood to gush out in several places: on which sir Richard Abridges not only reviled the wretch as a cruel tormentor, but with his sheriff's staff dealt him such a blow as broke his head, and made the blood run down his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold on their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, as quietly and cheerfully as though they felt no smart, and cried, "Lord

Jesus strengthen us : Lord Jesus assist us : Lord Jesus receive our souls !” and so continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, knocking on their hearts, and calling on the name of Jesus.

It was remarked as an extraordinary thing that after their three heads, by the raging force of the fire, had fallen together, and formed as it were one lump of cinder, so that no one doubted they were all dead, suddenly Julius Palmer, as if waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word, JESUS. So, being resolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a soul, confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ, as any one that ever was called beside, to suffer for his blessed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ’s holy gospel to the end.

CHAPTER XII.

ROGER HOLLAND.

THE LORD was now about to answer the groaning of his captive people, and according to the greatness of his mercy, to preserve many who were appointed to die. Midsummer had arrived; and before the close of the year, already half past, the last prayer of the blessed young Edward was to be granted, and his realm delivered from papistry. Philpot's oft-repeated aspiration, "God shorten your cruel kingdom, for his mercies' sake!" was more frequently in the mouths of the martyrs. The Lord taught them so to pray, because he will always be inquired of by his people, for the mercies that he is about to bestow. Many a blazing pyre was yet to redden the sky of England: but in a few short months the wearied and scattered church was destined to see the savage murderess of God's people taken from her blood-stained throne into a fearful eternity. Mary's days were numbered; and as their time shortened the rage of the persecutors seemed to increase.

Early in the month of June, a proclamation, short but sharp, came out by royal authority, commanding that whosoever possessed heretical books, whereof, of course, the Bible was chief, should immediately burn them, without showing or reading them to any other person;

or failing so to do, should, on discovery, be taken up, and without delay be executed as a rebel and traitor, according to martial law.

It was not long before an opportunity was given to manifest the fresh ardor of persecution, which these sanguinary edicts never failed to enkindle in the willing instruments of papal cruelty. Within a few days from the promulgation of the foregoing a party of forty innocent and godly persons having ventured to assemble in a back close or thicket, situate in the field by Islington, seated themselves on the ground, for mutual exhortation, prayer, and study of God's word. While they were thus employed, a stranger came up, who, looking at them, stopped, saluted them, and observed they looked like men who meant no hurt. One of the company asked him whether he could tell whose close it was ; and if they might be so bold as to sit there. He answered, " Yes, for ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm." He then departed ; and the poor flock continued their employment. In less than a quarter of an hour afterwards, the constable of Islington, named King, accompanied by six or seven armed men, approached. He left his attendants in a covert hard by, and proceeding alone, walked through the party, observing what they were doing and what books they had. When he had thus passed along, he returned in the same way, calling on them to deliver their books. They knew him to be the constable, and therefore, with the obedience ever shown by the Lord's people to legal authority, they gave up the books ; on which the concealed band came forth, ordering them to stand, and not to depart. They replied, they were ready to obey, and go wheresoever they commanded ; and so were taken first to a brew-house near the spot, while some of the soldiers ran for a

neighboring justice. He was from home ; and then they took their prisoners to sir Roger Cholmley. The women escaped by the way : so, indeed, nearly the whole party might have done, had they chosen it : but twenty-two men remained in custody, and were by this Cholmley committed to Newgate. Two died in prison : seven escaped with their lives, without renouncing the faith : probably through the changes that soon followed : and thirteen were burnt, in two companies, one at Smithfield, and the other at Brentford.

The first were brought before Bonner on the fourteenth of June. Their names were as follows : HENRY POND, REYNOLD EASTLAND, ROBERT SOUTHAM, MATTHEW RICARBY, JOHN FLOYD, JOHN HOLLIDAY, and ROGER HOLLAND.

The story of Holland is particularly interesting : he had been apprenticed to a merchant tailor in London, to whom he caused no small trouble, being a most wild and licentious youth. His early training had been evil, and all the efforts of his master could not break his dissipated habits, or win him from courses that had seemed to promise any end rather than that to which God called him. He was a bigoted Romanist ; given to revelling, gambling, and the worst company : yet finding him perfectly honest, his master still trusted him with his accounts. One day having received for him a sum of thirty pounds, Holland, falling, as he usually did, into bad company, lost every groat at dice ; and having no possible way to replace it, resolved to escape beyond sea. Having thus made up his mind, he went home very early in the morning, and called to him a servant of the house, named Elizabeth ; a steady woman, a true follower of Christ, who had never failed to reprove both the idolatrous religion and the profligate life of young Holland.

He said to her, "Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes ; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into ; for this night have I lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him and to make up my accounts, I am not able. But this much I pray you desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this note of hand, that I am thus much indebted to him ; and if I be ever able, I will see him paid, desiring him that the matter may pass in silence, and that none of my kindred or friends may ever understand this my wicked part. For if it should come to my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs oversoon to the grave." He was then departing, but Elizabeth, touched with pity, and led by the Spirit of God cried out, "Stay:" and having a sum of money in her possession, bequeathed by a kinsman, she ran and brought thirty pounds, saying, "Roger, here is thus much money ; I will let thee have it, and I will keep thy bill. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all loose and wild company, all swearing and unchaste talk ; and if ever I know thee to play one twelve-pence at either dice or cards, then will I show this bill unto thy master. And furthermore thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of papistry and vain ballads, and get the Testament, and book of service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his grace to direct thee in this truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth ; and ever be afraid to break his laws,

or offend his majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy heart's desire."

Who can avoid being touched by this lovely instance of Christian bounty in an humble servant-maid? There is one point in it where we desire to pause, and gather an important lesson. In our day it is not unfrequent, particularly in Ireland, to hear the remark made by Protestants, that they cannot accompany their charitable alms to the poor Romanists by the better gift of spiritual instruction, because they might lay themselves open to the charge of bribing them to renounce their religion. That such accusation will be brought by God's enemies is certain; but it is equally certain that the Christian, in doing his Master's work, must pass through good report and evil report too. Now, we have seen, in this instance, that Elizabeth used the desperate state from which young Holland could only be delivered by her bounty, as a means to bring him from popery; and even to make him attend the preaching of the gospel in her parish church; for this took place in Edward's reign. Whether or no God blessed the act to the object of her generous and faithful efforts, let the sequel of the story show. And may it sink deep into the hearts of those who fear to make God's temporal gifts a means for bringing the poor and needy to hear the joyful sound of his gospel!

Roger Holland promised, and fulfilled it; and within one half year, says Fox, God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all papistry and evil company, so that he was an admiration of all them that had known him, and seen his former life and wickedness. Then he repaired into Lancashire, unto his father, and brought with him many good books, which he bestowed on his friends; so that his parents and others began to taste the sweets

of the gospel, and to detest the mass, with all idolatry and superstition. When they parted his father gave him the sum of fifty pounds, wherewith to begin the world. Roger hastened to London with his treasure, and coming to his first best earthly friend, he said, "Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee ; and for the friendship, good will, and good council I have received at thy hands, to recompense thee I am not able, otherwise than to make thee my wife." They were married in the first year of queen Mary ; and Elizabeth bearing a child, Holland had it baptized in his own house by a godly minister ; and then carried it into the country to save it from the contaminating hands of the priests. For this he was reported to the enemies, who in his absence, searched the house, and seized his goods ; while his wife suffered most cruel usage at the hands of Bonner. Holland, on his return, concealed himself in the city, until assembling with the congregation of the faithful, at Islington, near St. John's Wood, he was taken with the rest.

When brought before Bonner, Chedsey, the Harpsfields, and others, he was assailed with many fair words and crafty persuasions ; the bishop himself thus commencing : "Holland, I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy friend's sake. And Dr. Standish telleth me you and he were both born in one parish, and he knoweth your father to be a very honest catholic gentleman : and Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago ; and found you very wilfully addict to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have showed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations ; but since you be now in the danger of the law, I would wish you to play a wise man's part : so shall

you not want any favor I can do or procure for you, both for your own sake, and also for your friends', which be men of worship and credit, and wish you well ; and by my troth, Roger, so do I." Then said Mr. Eaglestone, a Lancashire gentleman and near kinsman to Holland, who was present, " I thank your good lordship : your honor meaneth good unto my cousin. I beseech God he have the grace to follow your counsel." " Sir, you crave of God you know not what," said Holland : " I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his word. " Roger, hold your peace," exclaimed the kinsman, " lest you fare the worse at my lord's hands." " No," said Holland, " I shall fare as it pleaseth God ; for man can do no more than God doth permit him."

Then the bishop, the doctors, and Johnson the registrar, consulted for a while ; after which Johnson spake : " Roger, how sayest thou ? wilt thou submit thyself unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt ?" Holland answered, " I never meant but to submit myself to the magistrate, as I learn of St. Paul's to the Romans, chap. xiii : " and so recited the text. " Then I see you are no anabaptist," remarked Chedsey. Holland replied, " I mean not yet to be a papist ; for they and the anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings." Chedsey bade him remember what he had said, and what the bishop had promised : and also to take heed, for that his ripeness of wit had brought him into these errors. After some further whispering together, Bonner said, " Roger, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for anything that I or your friends, or any other can say." Holland answered, " I may say to you, my lord, as Paul said to Felix, and to the Jews, as doth appear in the

two-and-twentieth of the Acts, and in the fifteenth of the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown to my master whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind religion that is now taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of king Edward, in a manner; having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution; he, for money, also doing some penance for me; which after I had given, I cared not what further offences I did, no more than he passed, after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me or no: so that uncleanness, swearing, and all other vices, I accounted no offence or danger, so long as I could for money have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash Wednesday, though I had used never so much wickedness at night: and albeit I could not in conscience eat flesh upon Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing, all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought up; and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me, by his grace, to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life: for in Lancashire their blindness and licentiousness is overmuch more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these, my friends, which are not clear, in these notable crimes think the priest with his mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and are unfaithful to their marriage-vow as long as they live. Yea, I know some priests very devout, my lord——," and then he declared how deeply those priests were themselves guilty of the sins for which they dispensed their pretended absolutions to the laity.

He proceeded: "Master doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and universality (three points alleged by Chedsey

in proof of their religion). I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colors to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head: and so to faithful Noah, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky: and so to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the church, though the number were oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias' days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass, and your god Mauzzim: the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, whiles you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them—as Daniel was, in his chamber—closely to serve the Lord their God: even as we, by this your cruelty, are forced in the fields to pray unto God that his holy word may be once again truly preached among us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, of our church have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs, and confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you show? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old;

and some of your masses are younger, as your mass of St. Thomas à Becket, the traitor, wherein you pray that you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof; the priests do so champ and chew them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor they that hear them: and in the mean time, the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads, to pray our lady's psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams, which you defend with fagot and fire, to quench the light of the word of God, which, as David saith, should be a lantern to our feet. And again: 'Wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather in the church to have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service, and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity. The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand: neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving all alone, your purgatory, your images, &c. As for the unity which is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, wickedness? What unity was in your church when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?' Here he was interrupted by Bonner exclaiming, "Roger, these thy words are very blasphemy; and by

means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, have him away."

So Holland was taken back to prison, after telling them a greater variety of unwelcome truths than they were usually in the habit of hearing. When he and the other prisoners were brought to their second examination, Chedsey said, "Roger, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before." He replied, "I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say." "That is well said," quoth Bonner. "Mr. Eaglestone, I trust your kinsman will be a good Catholic man. But, Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome?" Holland answered, "I mean that church which hath Christ for its head; which also hath his word, and his sacraments according to his word and institutions." Chedsey interrupted him, by asking, "Is that a Testament you have in your hand?" "Yea, master doctor, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation, I think. It is of your own translation; it is according to the great Bible." Bonner asked, "How do you know it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it; and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions." "No," said Holland, "the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, 'Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.' Psalm xci." Then said the bishop, "Such unlearned wild-heads as thou and other would be expositors of the scriptures? Wilt thou, then, the

ancient learned—as there be some here as well as I—should be taught of you?” Holland answered, “Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been something more by your doctrine than ever I learned out of this book of God. But, my lord, I suppose some of the old doctors say, If a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be never so great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding I am ready to be instructed by the church.”

“That is very well said, Roger,” replied Bonner: “but you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic church. Roger, for thy friends’ sake, I promise thee I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, see he want nothing. Roger, if thou lack any money to comfort thee, I will see thou shalt not want.” This was spoken to him apart from his fellow-sufferers to win him over if possible: and so, with many fair words, he was sent back to his prison.

The last examination of this sensible and intrepid man was on the occasion of their being brought up for judgment. All the rest were excommunicated, and ready to receive sentence of death, while many threatening words were used to strike terror into them. But a strong party of Holland’s kinsmen, including the lord Strange, sir Thomas Jarret, Mr. Eaglestone, and others of rank and property, both in Cheshire and Lancashire, with many friends, were earnest suitors to spare his life. Bonner, who showed a desire to do so, by winning him over to their way, made this oration: “Roger, I have divers time called thee before, home to my house, and have conferred with thee: and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear to me thou art of a good memory, and of a very sensible talk, but something over hasty,

which is a natural disease to some men. And surely they are not the worst-natured men ; for I myself shall now and then be hasty ; but mine anger is soon past. So, Roger, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not, with these loose fellows, cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here ; very good catholics, as it is reported unto me. And as I mean thee good, so, Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome ; and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favor at God's hands, but the church, that high authority, shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer withal ; that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the mind, so shalt thou find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed afore with the hogs ; as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worse than hogs :” and therewith he put his hand to his cap : “ for they know the church and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turk, he would, I think, believe me. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good-will, I would not have said so much as I have done ; but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you.” At these words the friends of Holland gave many thanks to the bishop for his good-will, and the pains he had taken on his behalf and theirs. He then went on : “ Well, Roger, how say you ? Do you not believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration there remaineth the body of Christ, really and corporally, under the forms of bread and wine ? I mean the self-same body that was born of the virgin Mary,

that was crucified upon the cross and rose again the third day."

Holland replied, "Your lordship saith, the same body which was born of the virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out, which ascended into heaven; and the scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by the words *Hoc est corpus meum*." "Roger," said the bishop, "I perceive my pains and good-will will not prevail; and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful, as all thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish conceit, that thou wouldest still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not." "My lord," said the martyr, "although God, by his sufferance, hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us his faithful servants, notwithstanding, your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ; and for all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God." Bonner remarked, "If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, as a frantic heretic." "Roger," said lord Strange, "I perceive my lord would have you tell him whether you will submit yourself to him or no." "Yea," added Bonner, "and confess this presence that I have spoken of."

On this, Roger Holland, turning towards lord Strange and his other friends, with a cheerful aspect, kneeled down, and said, "God, by the mouth of his servant, St. Paul, hath said, 'Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers: and he that resisteth receiveth his own

damnation :’ and as you are a magistrate, appointed by the will of God, so do I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for magistrates.” “That is well said,” observed Bonner ; “I see you are no anabaptist. How say you then to the presence of Christ’s body and blood in the sacrament of the altar ?” Holland replied, “I say, and beseech you all to remark and bear witness with me, for so you shall do before the judgment-seat of God, what I speak ; for here is the conclusion. And ye, my dear friends (turning to his kinsmen), I pray you show my father what I do say, that he may understand I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the scriptures, that in the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ’s institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God’s board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ, in his human nature, sit at the right hand of his Father, yet by faith, I say, his death, his passion, his merits, are mine ; and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety, and horrible idolatry.”

“I thought as much,” exclaimed Bonner, not suffering him to speak any longer ; “how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How unreverently doth he speak of the blessed mass !” And straightway he read the sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned. Holland heard it in silence, patiently and quietly ; and when about to be removed, he said, “My lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words.” Bonner re ordering him away ; but on the intercession

of one of his friends, he said, "Speak; what hast thou to say?" The martyr, just ready to be offered, then uttered these memorable words: "Even now I told you your authority was from God, and by his sufferance: and now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured out with tears for his afflicted saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, which by his Spirit I am moved to say, that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his church. And this shall you in short time perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true; for after this day, in this place, shall there not be any by him put to the trial of fire and fagot." Certain it is, that his words were verified; for after Holland and his companions, no more suffered in Smithfield for the testimony of the gospel.

The boasting tyrant, however, believed it not: he replied, "Roger, thou art as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Boucher. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the sort of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea, I will burn all the sort of you that come in my hands, that will not worship the blessed sacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling." And then the bishop went out, in no small displeasure.

Holland next began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel. Bonner quickly came back, charging the keeper that no one should be permitted to speak to the prisoners without his license; and that any who did should be committed to prison. Meanwhile Holland and Henry Pond continued to address the people, exhorting them to stand in the truth; and adding, that God

would shorten those cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

In their examination, the other six had borne a most open and unflinching witness to the truth. They not only answered affirmatively to all the articles that set forth their utter dissent from the popish worship and doctrine, but strengthened their protest as much as possible, by plain denunciations of the errors and idolatry, in testifying against which they were ready to yield up their lives. Only Reynold Eastland refused to be sworn, alleging, that although to end a strife an oath is lawful, yet to begin a strife it is not so. To this singular opinion he adhered; but readily consented to suffer whatever should be adjudged to his brethren. When called on, at the last, to reconcile himself again to the "catholic" faith, and go from his opinions, he said he knew nothing why he should recant: and therefore would not conform himself. So sentence was pronounced on him. John Holiday being next called, said that he was no heretic, neither held any heresy or any opinion contrary to the catholic faith: but as he persisted in holding the scriptural, not the Romish faith, to be the catholic, he too was condemned. The others were disposed of in like manner; Roger Holland being reserved to the last.

On the twenty-seventh of June the fire was prepared for these brethren: and such was the dread entertained of their influence over the people, that a proclamation was made that day, forbidding any to be so bold as to speak or talk any word unto them, or to receive anything of them, on pain of imprisonment without bail or mainprize, with other cruel threatenings. Notwithstanding, the people cried out, beseeching God to strengthen them: while the martyrs also prayed for them, and for the restoring of God's word. At last, Roger Holland,

embracing the stake and the reeds, spoke these words aloud : " Lord, I most humbly thank thy majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death unto the light of thy heavenly word : and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing, and say, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts ! And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry." So, looking up to heaven, praying to God and praising Him, he ended his life, with his dear and faithful brethren.

Oh that all who have this world's good would be ready to bestow a portion on the poor victims of popish delusion, in the spirit and with the object of the maid Elizabeth, when she placed her thirty pounds in the hands of Roger Holland !

Six others of the company, who were apprehended at Islington, were cruelly burnt at Brentford, shortly after their brethren had been slain in Smithfield. These were ROBERT WILLES, STEPHEN COTTON, ROBERT DYNES, STEPHEN WRIGHT, JOHN SLADE, and WILLIAM PIKES. The articles were ministered to them by Bonner's chancellor, Darbyshire, at various times, each having the same articles objected against him separately : but their answers were uniform, showing that one Spirit taught them all. They declared, that as the rites, customs, and ceremonies of the Romish religion were against the word of God, they would observe no part of them : they would not attend the church so long as idolatry was there practised and a strange language used : they declared, that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in king Edward's time, they would with all their hearts do so. On the final examination, they were all brought up together, and asked if they would turn from their opinions

to the holy mother church : they all answered, that they would not go from the truth, nor renounce any part of it while they lived. They were sent back till the afternoon, when the chancellor, sitting in the pomp and pride of his office, with two of the queen's household officers present, passed the murderous sentence upon these poor lambs, delivering them up to the appointed slaughterers. The same day he applied for a writ ; and caused the martyrs to be conveyed to Brentford, and burned on the morrow. They went quietly and gladly to the place, made their prayers to the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, and being bound to the stake, with flames rising about them, yielded their souls into the hands of their Saviour.

Before dismissing the story of these sufferers for God's truth, we must relate what befell two of the seven who escaped the flames, out of these twenty-two, of whom thirteen were burned. These were THOMAS HENSHAW, and JOHN WILLES. The former was a youth of nineteen or twenty years, apprenticed to a tradesman in Paul's church-yard. After eight weeks' solitary imprisonment in Newgate, Henshaw was sent for by Bonner to be examined by him, Harpsfield, and Cole. He was remanded for three weeks longer, then brought up again before Bonner, who had with him much talk to no purpose. The next day, being Sunday, the bishop went to Fulham, in the afternoon ; and having, in the morning, made another unsuccessful attempt to shake the youth's constancy, he took him there, and extended to him the hospitality which he was wont to show God's people in that house, by setting him in the stocks that night, with a pittance of bread and water. The next morning Bonner came to him, with many persuasions, which took no

effect on his steadfast mind : so Harpsfield was sent for, to try his hand, who, after a long discussion, lost his temper, called him peevish boy ; asking him whether he thought he went about to destroy his soul, and so forth. Henshaw answered, that he was persuaded that they labored to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom ; and not from any love to truth. This put Harpsfield into a mighty rage : he told the bishop ; who, swelling with passion so as scarcely to be able to speak, said, " Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy ? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured." He then sent for a couple of rods, and ordered the young man to kneel down against a long bench, in an arbor in his garden ; which he readily doing, the bishop beat and scourged him, until his bloated and unwieldy body was so wearied with that right catholic exercise, that he was fain to give over, before he had quite wasted both his willow rods.

After this specimen of the tenderness with which the holy mother church of Rome cherishes the lambs whom she undertakes to lead back to her fold, articles were prepared against Henshaw, and he was brought to examination in the chapel at Fulham. He kept a clear conscience, not assenting to any of their idolatrous doctrines, though he refused to answer to many of the artful questions propounded. Soon after he fell sick of fever and ague, and Bonner, who thought him at the point of death, was prevailed on to give him into the care of his master, who must have produced him again on his recovery : but, by the Lord's mercy, he remained sick until after the accession of Elizabeth, and so escaped. He was alive when Fox wrote the story, and furnished him with the facts.

JOHN WILLES was brother to one of those burnt at Brentford. He was examined with Henshaw, and shared his lodging in the stocks, during eight or ten days, at Fulham; and often was he questioned by Bonner, who, on those occasions, always held a stick in his hand, with which he would rap him on the head, and strike him under the chin, and on the ears, saying he looked down like a thief. One day, after trying all ways to make him revoke, the bishop asked him when he had crept to the cross? he answered, not since he came to years of discretion, neither would he, though he should be torn by wild horses. Then Bonner ordered him to make a cross on his forehead, which he refused to do, and thereupon he was taken to the orchard, placed in the arbor, and obliged to strip his back, while Bonner scourged him with a willow rod, until it was worn to a stump; then he called for one of birch, and used it in like manner as long as he could raise his arm. After this, Willes was examined with Henshaw at Fulham chapel, but little to the Bishop's contentment; for he sent to the prison an old priest, lately come from Rome, to conjure the evil spirit out of him; at whom and his incantations, Willes only laughed. Bonner took great pains with him, talking a vast deal of the most childish nonsense, by way of expounding scripture, but all in vain. One of his speeches was this: "They call me bloody Bonner: a vengeance on you all, I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. If I might have my will, I would sew your mouths, and put you in sacks to drown you."

At last Willes was delivered; not by any relentings on Bonner's part, but by the perseverance of his wife, who came to the house, and declared she would not stir from it until her husband was given up to her. She was in a condition to render her rather an inconvenient and awk-

ward guest in the palace ; so, for fear of what might happen, Bonner was forced to release his prisoner from the stocks, and let him go, for a day, as he said ; but it was managed to get him fully delivered, by signing a paper that contained nothing contrary to his faith. The happy change of affairs soon after placed Bonner's captives in glad security ; while he, imprisoned in the Marshalsea, with liberty to go out, but never daring to pass its gates for fear of the people's vengeance, lived a long while in gluttony, drunkenness, and every sinful excess, and died a confirmed infidel.

The next martyr who comes under review is RICHARD YEOMAN, a devout old minister, who had long been curate to good Dr. Rowland Taylor, at Hadleigh. That blessed martyr left his parish in Yeoman's charge ; but the successor appointed to the cure, Newall, soon drove away the godly teacher, and set a right popish curate in his place, to maintain and enforce the doctrine of his evil patrons, which they thought to be now fully established. Expelled from his home, the aged pastor wandered from place to place, exhorting all the brethren whom he met, to stand faithfully to God's word, to give themselves earnestly unto prayer, patiently bearing the cross now laid on them for their trial, and boldly confessing the truth before their adversaries, and with undoubting hope waiting for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. When he perceived the enemy was lying in wait to seize him, he procured a little basket of laces, pins, and other such small merchandize, with which he went into Kent, travelling from one village to another, selling his humble wares, and by this poor shift getting a trifle towards the sustenance of himself, his helpless wife and children. While thus he passed through Kent, a certain justice of

that county took him, and kept him for a day and night in the stocks; but having no evidence against him, was obliged to let him go. Yeoman then returned to Hadleigh, coming privately and cautiously; and for more than a year his poor faithful wife concealed him in a chamber of the town house. Here the patient old man, now nearly seventy years of age, remained, spending his time in devout prayer and reading the scriptures, and in carding wool which his wife spun. She also went out to beg bread and meat for herself and the children; and by such poor means they contrived to exist. This was the lot of God's saints, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were pampered at Jezebel's table.

At length, Newall discovered the retreat of his victim, and taking with him the bailiffs' deputies and servants, came in the night time, breaking open five doors to reach the place where Yeoman was in bed with his wife and children. The persecutor immediately uttered some gross and slanderous language against them, founded on the wicked rule of priestly celibacy, and behaved with savage insult to the poor gentlewoman; while her husband, in the spirit of his martyred friend, Rowland Taylor, replied, "Nay, parson, no ill character, but a married man and his wife, according unto God's ordinance; and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery." He was then led to the cage, and placed in the stocks until day. Here he found another aged sufferer, named JOHN DALE, who had been there three or four days, because when Newall and his curate openly performed the Romish service in the church, he publicly reprov'd their blindness, idolatry, and cruelty to God's martyrs. They were both brought together before Sir Henry Doyle, a justice of the peace, and Newall urged him to commit them to

prison. Sir Henry strove hard to move the inhuman man to pity ; representing their age, their poverty, that they were no preachers, nor men of great repute : wherefore he besought him to be content to punish them for a day or two, and then to let them go ; at least Dale, who was no priest, and who had sat so long in the cage that it seemed punishment enough. At this the vicar went into a great rage, calling them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in a commonwealth of Christians ; and finally demanded of Sir Henry that he should, according to his office, defend the holy church, and help to suppress these sects of heretics which were false to God, and boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious proceedings. Sir Henry, seeing that he could do no good, and knowing that it was at his own peril if he stood between the Lord's sheep and the wolves who were whetting their teeth to rend them, was forced to make out a commitment to Bury gaol, whither the constables carried them both. The justices were, in fact, though armed with the sword of civil power, as much in fear of every shaven crown as Pilate was of Annas and Caiaphas, and the Pharisaical generation who cried out, "Crucify him ! crucify him ! If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." Such is the policy of that unfathomable mystery of iniquity, the Romish church ; and so it will ever be where that church is ascendant. Magistrates, and laymen of every degree, must needs be slaves and vassals to the popish bishops ; as was Sir Henry Doyle now proved to be, when, sorely against his conscience, he permitted the two innocent victims to be bound like thieves, placed on horseback with their legs tied under the horses' bodies, taken to prison, and there heavily ironed. All this could not prevent their rebuking the anti-christian apostasy ; so that they were thrust into

the lowest dungeon, where Dale soon died, and was cast forth, and put in a hole dug in the fields. He was a weaver, well learned in the holy scripture, and steadfast in maintaining the true doctrine set forth in King Edward's time. For it he cheerfully suffered prison and fetters ; and from an earthly dungeon departed to a mansion of eternal glory, where Christ is the light of his people for evermore.

When Dale was dead, Mr. Yeoman was removed to Norwich, and very cruelly handled in that prison. When brought to examination, he steadfastly declared himself to be of the faith and confession set forth by the holy king Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory ; and from that he would nothing vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father, the pope, he replied, " I defy him, and all his detestable abominations : I will in no wise have to do with him nor anything that appertaineth to him." The chief articles objected against him were his marriage, and the mass sacrifice : and as he continued immovable in the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most barbarously tormented in the fire. He ended his life of sorrow, want and pain, to enjoy with Lazarus, in the bosom of Abraham, the sweet rest and quietness that God hath prepared for his saints.

Another martyr of Hadleigh was JOHN ALCOCK. He was a shearman, a young man, and in the employ of a person named Rolfe. He had been accustomed to the English service in Hadleigh church : and when Newall came there with his procession, Alcock stood by, neither moving his cap, nor doing any sort of reverence to the idol which they carried. Newall seeing this, in a fit of devout rage ran after him as he left the church, seized him, and called for the constable. Then came up Rolfe,

and asked the priest what his servant had done to make him so angry. Newall replied, "He is a heretic and a traitor, and despiseth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you, in the queen's name, have him in the stocks, and see he be forthcoming." "Well," answered Rolfe, "he shall be forthcoming. Proceed you in your business, and be quiet." "But," the priest repeated, "have him in the stocks." "I am constable," said Rolfe, "and may bail him, and will bail him: he shall not come in the stocks; but he shall be forthcoming." So the priest returned to his holy procession, and celebrated his mass.

Rolfe said to his young man, "I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him." "Sir," answered Alcock, "I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself I am not sorry; but I do commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me a mouth and wisdom to answer according to right." "Well," repeated Rolfe, "yet beware of him; for he is malicious, and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me; and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me." The young man replied, "I fear him not. He shall do no more to me than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be, if God will call me to die for his truth's sake."

After this discourse, they went to the priest, who at once asked him, "Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?" "I say," answered he, "as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it: and ye are false, idolatrous priests, all the sort of you." "I told you he was a stout heretic," remarked Newall. He committed him for the night, to prison, and the next day, riding up to London, took the young man with him, who,

after long confinement in Newgate, with repeated examinations and many troubles, remaining steadfast, was cast into the lowest dungeon, where he died. His body was buried in a dunghill.

THOMAS BENBRIDGE was a gentleman of good estate, in the diocese of Winchester, where he had means to live as easy and luxurious a life as any: but the Lord gave him grace to prefer the reproach of Christ before all the joys of this world, and to seek an entrance through the strait gate of persecution into the heavenly kingdom. He stood manfully against the papists for the defence of the gospel, conforming himself to it in all things. He was, of course, apprehended, as an enemy to the Romish religion, and sustained many conflicts with White, the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues. He objected against their baptism, as not being ministered in the English tongue; denied transubstantiation; condemned confession to the priest; declared he believed not the bishops to be successors of the apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that grace; asserted that not the pope but the devil was supreme head of their church; rejected purgatory; and said that Martin Luther died a good Christian man, whose doctrine and life he approved.

He was condemned, and when brought to the place of execution cheerfully prepared himself for the fire, dividing his clothes, which were befitting a wealthy gentleman, among those who claimed them, and was made fast to the stake. While he stood quietly there, his hands joined together, Dr. Seaton came and exhorted him to recant; but he answered, "Away, Babylonian, away." A bystander proposed to cut out his tongue, and another railed most violently at him: but finding no prospect of

prevailing, they devised to torture him with such slow burning, that it procured them a short triumph over his constancy ; for, having kept on his hose, which were of leather, when the fire, that burned him elsewhere without causing him to shrink, got hold on them, the agony produced by that heated leather was so intolerable, that he cried out, " I recant," and thrust the fire from him ; while a few of his friends who stood by, at their own peril stepping into the fire, helped him out of it. For this they were sent to prison. The sheriff also, on his own responsibility, had him taken from the stake, and reconducted to prison : and he was likewise sent to the Fleet for his humanity. Before Benbridge was removed, Seaton wrote articles of recantation, and offered them for his signature ; but he objected so strongly that the doctor commanded him to be again put into the fire. He then, very unwillingly, and with great grief, subscribed the paper, which was laid on a man's back ; and so had his gown given to him again, and went to his prison, whence he wrote a letter to Seaton, revoking what he had said at the stake, and what he had subscribed. From this resolution none could move him : and after suffering a week's pain from the burns he had received, he was once more taken to the fire, where he endured all the slow torments that their barbarity could inflict and died a martyr.

THE LAST MARTYRS.

Canterbury was chosen to be the scene of the last cruel murder perpetrated openly in these realms by judicial authority, on Christ's people, for his name's sake. Five Christians were burned at that place, within six days before England's happy deliverance of queen Mary. These were JOHN CORNEFORD of Wortham ; JOHN HURST

of Ashford ; CHRISTOPHER BROWN of Maidstone ; ALICE SNOTH ; and an aged woman, named KATHERINE TINLEY. They crowned the mighty pile of slaughtered saints that had been accumulating, from the martyrdom of blessed John Rogers, on the fourth of February, 1555, to this tenth of November, 1558.

It is said that Harpsfield, knowing the hopeless state of the Queen, made all possible haste from London to Canterbury, to despatch these victims, lest by deferring their fate for a little while he should lose the opportunity of adding yet this butchery to the long and fearful list recorded against his soul. His character renders it but too probable : howsoever it may be, he has long since gone to his terrible account. The five martyrs above named were chiefly condemned for denying transubstantiation, maintaining that an evil man does not receive Christ in the communion, and denouncing as idolatrous the worship of images and saints. When the sentence of excommunication was read against them, John Cornford, filled with holy zeal against the blasphemous abominations that they had good cause to hope were now about to be expelled from this weary land, thus uttered a counter-excommunication. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Most Mighty God, and by the power of His Holy Spirit, and the authority of His holy, catholic, and apostolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan, to be destroyed, the bodies of all these blasphemers and heretics that do maintain any error against his most holy word, or do condemn his most holy faith for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church, or feigned religion : so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thine adversaries, thy true religion may be known, to thy great glory and

our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it. Amen."

This extraordinary effusion of faith and hope was taken down and registered: and the death of Mary within less than a week afterwards, could not but produce a powerful effect on some who heard it uttered. The old woman, Tinley, had a pious son, who was the means of bringing her to the knowledge of that truth for which she at last gave her body to the flames. While yet in an ignorant and careless state, she met, in a book of prayers, with a quotation from the prophet Joel, "It shall come to pass in those days, saith the Lord, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh," &c. This she took to her son, asking him what it meant; and from his exposition of the passage she obtained the first gleam of spiritual light, which God brought to perfect day. The five martyrs, having prayed, and prepared themselves for the stake, besought the Lord that their blood might be the last that should be so shed: and their prayer was granted.

CP
Am

1. The first part of the text is a list of names and titles.

2. The second part of the text is a list of names and titles.







